



THE LONDON MAGAZINE.

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JOURNAL of the PROCEEDINGS and DEBATES, in the
POLITICAL CLUB; continued from Page 443.

The remaining Part of the Speech made by M. Cato, upon introducing his Proposition relating to the Spanish Depredations; the first Part of which we gave in our last, page 436.



HAVING thus, Sir, A mentioned and explained the several Rights of this Nation in *America*, which I take to be of such Consequence, that they ought to be particularly established and asserted, in the most solemn and the most explicit Manner, by the Resolutions of Parliament; I shall next take Notice, that it not only appears, that every one of these Rights is now contested by the Court of *Spain*; but that it has been proved at our Bar, that the Subjects of this Nation have been disturbed and interrupted in the Exercise of every one of them, by the *Spanish Guarda Costa's* in *America*. The *Spaniards* have of late Years not only seized and confiscated our Merchant-Ships, for carrying on their lawful Trade in the Island of *Tortuga* and Bay of *Campesbey*; but they

have stopt, searched, and plundered them, for sailing upon the open Seas of *America*; and have even seized and made Prize of them, for transporting some Sorts of Goods from one Part of his Majesty's Dominions to another, in manifest Violation of the known Rights and Privileges of the *British* Nation.

These are Rights, Sir, which are all so firmly established to us by Treaties; they are Rights which we have been so long in Possession of, that I am surprized how the *Spaniards* could find a Pretence for controverting any one of them; but when I consider the great Superiority of our Naval Force, and the great Expence we have been at of late Years in supporting that Naval Force, and in fitting out almost every Year formidable Squadrons, I am much more surprized to find, that the *Spaniards* have been so long allowed not only to controvert, but actually to interrupt and disturb us in the Possession and Exercise of those Rights. If they had rested satisfied with denying that we had any such Rights; if they had refused to acknowledge them in direct and explicit Terms,

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we might, for the Sake of Peace, have submitted to such a Piece of Injustice; but their plundering and making Prize of our Merchant-Ships, for exercising any of those Rights, is an Injury which we cannot in Honour submit to; and their pretending to stop, search, or seize, under any Pretence whatsoever, those *British* Ships, which they find sailing upon the open Seas, either in *America* or elsewhere, is an Usurping of a Right or Dominion which is inconsistent with our Trade, and is therefore what we ought to have opposed with all our Might, at the very Beginning; for Usurpations of every Kind gather Strength from their Continuance, and that which was at first a most unjust and a most violent Usurpation, may at last become a settled and an uncontrovertible Right.

I must confess, Sir, that from our Conduct of late Years, I am apt to suspect, there are some amongst us, who think the Matters now in Dispute between *Spain* and us, of so little Consequence, that no one of them is worth our contending for. If there be any such Gentlemen in this House, it would be easy to shew, that they are most egregiously mistaken; it would be easy to demonstrate, that every one of the Rights I have mentioned, is of such Consequence to our Trade (which is the chief Support of our Riches and Power, and the only Support of our naval Power) that we ought to contend for it, as if we were contending *pro aris & focis*; but I cannot well suppose there are any such Gentlemen in this House, and therefore I shall not at present enlarge upon this Point; because, by our being now in a Committee, I have a Privilege of speaking again upon the same Subject; and that Privilege I shall beg Leave to make use of, if I hear any Gentleman pretend to insinuate (for I know it will not be directly asserted)

that none of the Rights I have mentioned, are worth the Care of a *British* Parliament.

For this Reason, I say, Sir, I shall not now insist upon the great Consequence of all or any of the Matters, which the *Spaniards* have been of late tamely allowed to dispute with us; and as I believe no Gentleman will say, but that it has been fully proved at our Bar, that our Merchants have been plundered, our Ships unjustly seized and confiscated, and our Seamen cruelly used; therefore, without making an ungrateful Repetition of the Indignities and Injuries which have been proved at our Bar, I shall mention to you the 5th Motion I design to make; which is, That for many Years last past, the Liberty of Navigation, &c. (as in the 5th Part of his Resolution, before-mentioned, p. 435.)

And the last Proposition I shall make to you, Sir, upon this Occasion, shall be, That notwithstanding the repeated Application, &c. (as in the last Part of his Resolution, before-mentioned, p. 535.)

This likewise, Sir, is a Proposition which I cannot think any Gentleman in this House will pretend to oppose, at least I cannot suggest to myself any plausible Reason for opposing it. Every Gentleman knows, how many Petitions have been presented to this House by our plundered Merchants and Seamen: For several Years, we have seldom been a Session without having one or more such Petitions presented to us: Upon these Applications we have already twice addressed the Crown: We have already twice declared, that we would support the Crown in any Measures that should seem necessary for vindicating the Rights and the Honour of the Nation; so that if our Fellow-Subjects still remain unsatisfied, if those Ravages and Depredations are still continued and multiplied upon us, if the Honour of the Nation still lies

groveling in the Dust, the Fault cannot be laid at our Door. Our Ministers cannot excuse themselves, as some Ministers have formerly been too apt to do, by saying, that the Parliament refused to support them in those Measures that were necessary A for protecting the Trade, or vindicating the Honour of the Nation; and, indeed, I must say, if Negotiation, if Letters, Memorials and Representations, had been Methods proper or sufficient for obtaining Redress, it appears from the Piles of Papers B that have been laid before us, that our Ministers have not been remiss in endeavouring to obtain Satisfaction and Reparation for the Injuries and Insults we have met with; but, in my Opinion, they have very much mistaken the Methods proper to be made use of upon such Occasions.

It is amazing, Sir, to take a View of the Heaps of Letters, Memorials, and Representations, which we have already before us, relating to this Affair. They look more like the Papers belonging to an hereditary Suit in a Court of Equity, than like the Papers belonging to a Negotiation between two sovereign and independent Nations. In a Suit at Law, or in Equity, it is the Business of those who carry on the Suit, to prevent its being speedily brought to a Conclusion, because they get so much by it yearly, and termly, as long as the Suit continues, and those annual Profits must cease as soon as the Suit is at an End; and as they are paid by the Sheet, without any Regard to the Matter, it is their Interest to heap Process upon Process, and in every Paper to be as verbose and prolix as their Invention can suggest. But Negotiators are never paid by the Sheet, nor ought they to be made to expect their chief Reward till after the Negotiation is brought to a Conclusion; therefore it is not their Interest to be verbose, or to heap Memorial upon Memorial; nor

is it their Interest to spin out a Negotiation. It cannot be imagined, that any Negotiation we have been lately concerned in, was ever spun out for the Sake of continuing Salaries to the Negotiators; nor can it be supposed, that Letters, Memorials, or Representations have been multiplied or extended, for the Sake of adding to, or increasing the Salaries of those who were concerned in drawing them up; therefore I cannot avoid being surprized at the Multitude and the Length of those Papers, which seem to belong to the late Negotiations between *Spain* and us.

Besides, Sir, in all Negotiations it is generally the Duty of the Negotiators, of one Side or other, to bring the Negotiation to a speedy Issue; but where a Nation has been injured, and is in a Condition to revenge itself, it is more particularly incumbent upon its Negotiators to bring the Negotiation to an immediate Issue, of one kind or other; and for that Purpose, to be short and substantial in every Memorial, Answer, or Reply, they deliver, and peremptory in every Demand they make. When the known Rights of a Nation are invaded, it is ridiculous to enter into a tedious and metaphysical Discussion of the Point of Right; and still more ridiculous to make long Answers to every Quirk that may be made use of by the adverse Party; for the Councils of Nations are never to be swayed by subtle Arguing, nor is it consistent with the Dignity of Sovereigns to plead their Cause, like Barristers pleading the Cause of their Clients before a Court of Justice.

When an independent and a powerful Sovereign has been injured, he that speaks in his Name, Sir, may explain the Nature of the Injury that has been done, and ought to wait a reasonable Time for an Answer: He may even go the Length of a Reply; but if any sophistical

Arguments or delusive Evasions have been made use of in the Answer given him, he ought to think it beneath the Character he bears, to take Notice of them in his Reply; and the Conclusion of his Reply ought always to be, a peremptory Demand of Justice within a Time limited. This is the utmost Length a Sovereign ought to go, if he be at that Time in any tolerable Condition for doing himself Justice; and if we had made use of this Method of Negotiation with *Spain*, I am convinced the Insults and Injuries put upon us by that Nation, would have been far less numerous, and less dishonourable for us, than they are at present.

For this Reason, Sir. if our Negotiations must be continued yet a while longer, I hope they will be put upon a different Footing, and carried on in a different Manner, from what they have been; but for my part, I do not see what Security we can expect from any Negotiation or Treaty; for tho' the Treaty of *Seville* be not such a one as it ought to be, and might have been, if the Squadrons we were at the Expence of fitting out about that Time, had received Orders to compel as well as persuade, yet by that Treaty the Crown of *Spain* engaged itself, almost as expressly as it can, I believe altogether as expressly as it will, be engaged by any Treaty we can now obtain by peaceable Means, to give Satisfaction for all the Depredations that had been committed before that Time, and to prevent any such for the future. By the very first Article of that Treaty, all former Treaties were renewed and confirmed; and by the first separate Article, most of the Treaties between the two Crowns are particularly mentioned, and again expressly confirmed; from whence we may see, that the Crown of *Spain* was engaged by that Treaty, as much as it can be by general

Words in any Treaty, to prevent any Injuries being done by the Subjects of *Spain* to the Subjects of *Great Britain*. 'Tis true, the Treaty of 1670 is not mentioned among the rest in the first separate Article of the Treaty of *Seville*, nor is it mentioned in the other famous Treaty, made between *Spain* and us in the Year 1721. Whether this happened by Neglect, or if there was any hidden Design in not mentioning that Treaty among the rest, I shall not pretend to determine; but I cannot think the *Spaniards* will from thence pretend to say, we have passed from, or given up that Treaty; because I do not think it is their Interest to say so; for if it could be supposed, that there is no such Treaty now subsisting between the two Crowns, there is nothing to hinder us from trading with their Subjects in *New Spain* by open Force; any Laws or Prohibitions they could make against such a Trade, would be of very little Signification: Even all the *Guarda Costa's* they could send thither, would be far from being able to prevent our carrying on such a Trade; because we could send sufficient Squadrons of Men of War to protect all our Merchant-Ships employed in that Trade, without a Breach of any Article either in the Treaty of 1721, or in the Treaty of *Seville*.

Then, Sir, with respect to the Depredations that had been committed upon our Merchants before the Conclusion of that Treaty, we know that by the 6th Article thereof, Commissioners were to be appointed to examine and decide what concerned the Ships and Effects taken at Sea, and also all our Pretensions relating to Abuses committed in Commerce, and all other Pretensions as well in the *Indies* as in *Europe*; and his Catholick Majesty expressly engaged, to cause to be executed punctually and exactly, what should be decided by the said Commissioners, within six Months

Months after the making of their Report. These Commissaries, this Nation has Reason to know, were accordingly appointed; but as the Spaniards had never, I believe, an Intention to perform this Engagement, they took Care that their Commissaries should never agree to any Report; and upon this frivolous Pretence, I suppose, among others of the same Kind, they have ever since refused to make us the least Satisfaction for any of the Depredations committed before the Concluding of that Treaty, tho' it be now above eight Years since the Treaty was concluded, and above five Years since the Commissaries ought to have made their Report, according to the eighth Article of the same Treaty.

From what I have said, Sir, it will appear, I think, that we can have no great Expectations from any future Treaty we can make; but whatever may be the Success of our present Negotiations, whatever we may expect, whatever Advantage we may reap from any future Treaty, it is certain we have as yet received no Satisfaction or Reparation, notwithstanding the express Promises made by the Treaty of Seville, and notwithstanding that Treaty's having been performed by us in the most punctual Manner; and therefore I hope no Opposition will be made against that Part of the Resolution I am to move for. Then as to the Assurances that have been given our Merchants, of procuring Reparation for their Losses and Ill-usage, they have been so frequent, so express, and are so well known, that I cannot think I have the least Occasion for repeating or explaining them; for which Reason, I shall for the present conclude with begging, that Gentlemen would consider for what Purposes we sit here: We assemble in this House, in order to receive the Petitions, and hear the Complaints of our injured Subjects; but we are

not to receive and hear only, we are likewise in Duty bound to provide a Remedy for the Grievances they justly complain of, and to take the most effectual Measures for that Purpose. We have twice already come to general Resolutions upon this Subject: We have twice already found, that such general Resolutions have produced no Effect; therefore it would be unpardonable in us to proceed no further upon the present Occasion. Perhaps some Gentlemen may think, we ought now to go much further than I have taken the Liberty to propose; but I cannot think any Gentleman will oppose our going thus far; for the least we can do is, to assert those national Rights which seem of late to have been neglected; because, after such a solemn and publick Declaration of our Rights, I hope no Minister will hereafter dare to give up any of them by Treaty, or to allow them to be any longer incroached on and violated, under the Pretence of a Negotiation.

The next that spoke was the Right Hon. M. Tullius Cicero, whose Speech was in Substance thus.

*Mr. President,
Sir,*

I Do not rise up to oppose, or in the least to dispute, any of the Rights or Privileges which the Hon. Gentleman has been pleased to mention. I am fully convinced, that this Nation has an indisputable Title to all those Rights and Privileges, and I shall always be as zealous for defending them as that Gentleman or any other: Nay, I am convinced, that no *British* Subject will pretend to controvert any one of them; and therefore I shall readily agree with the Hon. Gentleman in every Thing he has said in support of those Rights and Privileges; but I cannot agree with him in thinking, that upon this Occasion they ought to be so particularly

cularly vindicated and asserted by the Resolutions of this House. I cannot think there is at present the least Occasion for our coming to any such Resolutions; because, I believe, there is no *British* Subject that will pretend to question any of the Rights he has mentioned, or that will dare to say, that any one of them ought to be given up. It is, to be sure, unnecessary, and I must think inconsistent with the Dignity of this House, to come to any Resolution for determining a Question, that is not disputed by any Subject of *Great Britain*; and with respect to Foreigners, our Resolutions cannot be of any Signification; because Foreigners are no Way bound, nor can they be fore-closed by any of our Determinations.

But this is not all, Sir; our coming to such particular and peremptory Resolutions, is not only unnecessary, but it would be hurtful. It would be pushing the Thing a great deal too far; because it would, in my Opinion, make a War unavoidable. Tho' every one of the Rights and Privileges the Hon. Gentleman has been pleased to mention, be secured to us, either by the Law of Nations, or by solemn Treaties, or by both; yet we all know, that they are now, and always have been, so far disputed, that the Court of *Spain* has never yet acknowledged them, in Terms so particular and so explicit, as the Hon. Gentleman has been pleased to propose. In treating between sovereign and independent Powers, there are certain Methods and Forms to be observed, which are absolutely necessary for bringing any Treaty of Peace, Commerce, or Alliance, to a Conclusion. A sovereign Prince or State may often be prevailed on to acknowledge a Right or Privilege, or even to make some new Concessions, by general Words, which may be equivalent to, and as effectual as, the

most express and particular Declaration; and yet that Prince or State would perhaps engage in, or continue the most dangerous and destructive War, rather than make such an express and particular Declaration. For this Reason it is usual and frequent in all Treaties, to make use of general Words, in those Cases where either of the contracting Parties think they cannot in Honour agree to acknowledge a Right, or make a Concession, in express and particular Terms.

This, Sir, has often been the Case, particularly between *Spain* and us. I believe no Gentleman will doubt of our Right to the Island of *Jamaica*. I believe no *British* Subject will say, that it is not absolutely surrendered and sufficiently secured to us, by the Treaties now subsisting between the two Crowns; and yet it is a Right which the *Spaniards* still pretend to dispute. It is a Right which they have never yet acknowledged in express and particular Terms. Even in the Year 1670, when they were suing for a Peace, and for some new Regulations in the *West Indies*, and suing for it, Sir, in as humble a Manner as ever a Nation, not absolutely reduced, could submit to, they would not acknowledge our Right to that Island in express Terms, nor did we think it necessary they should. They thought it was inconsistent with the Honour of their Crown, to make an express and particular Surrender of that Island; and we indulged them so far as to rest satisfied with that Surrender and Acknowledgment contained in the general Words of that Treaty, by which it is declared, 'That we should hold and keep all the Lands, Countries, Islands, Colonies, and other Places, in the *West Indies*, or in any Part of *America*, which we then held and possessed.' This we then thought a full and sufficient Acknowledgment of our Right to that Island; and

and it seems our Opinion was the same at the Time of the Treaty of *Utrecht*, a Treaty which, I am sure, some Gentlemen that hear me will not pretend to find fault with; for tho' by that Treaty we may in some Measure be said to have given the Kingdoms both of *Old* and *New Spain* to that Family, which has since given us so much Disturbance, yet we did not then desire an express and particular Acknowledgment of our Right to that Island, nor of any other of our Rights or Privileges in *America*.

From the Practice of all Nations therefore, and from our own Practice in former Treaties, we not only may, but sometimes ought to satisfy ourselves with general Words and Expressions, in Cases where such general Words or Expressions may be as effectual, and may render what we aim at as secure and indisputable, as if it had been declared or regulated in the most particular and explicit Terms. But, Sir, if in the present Case, this House should come to such Resolutions as have been proposed, it would render it impossible for us afterwards to accept of, or propose, any such general Acknowledgments or Concessions; for our Ministers, and all those employed in our Negotiations with *Spain*, would certainly look upon the Resolutions of this House as a Rule from which they could not depart. In such a Case, I believe no Minister would take upon him to advise his Majesty to make a Proposition to the Court of *Spain*, relating to any of the Matters now in Dispute between us, that was less explicit or less particular than the Resolution this House had come to upon that Head; nor would he take upon him to advise his Majesty to approve of or ratify any one Article in a Treaty, unless it was as full and as particularly expressed as the Resolution we had come to upon the subject Matter of that Article. Whether this

would be an Incroachment upon that Prerogative of the Crown, by which it has the sole Power of making Peace or War, I shall leave to others to determine; for my own Part, I must think, that it would not only be a taking from his Majesty the Power of making Peace, but that it would be a taking from him the Power of judging what Sort of Instructions would be most proper to be sent to his Ambassadors or Envoys at any foreign Court, or to his Plenipotentiaries at any future Congress. But this is not the only Disadvantage such a Method of Proceeding would be attended with: In my Opinion, it would not only make War unavoidable, but it would likewise make Peace unattainable, till one or other of the Parties engaged, were almost utterly destroyed; for tho' the *Spaniards* may probably be brought to acknowledge and confirm all the Rights and Privileges now in Dispute between them and us, in general Terms, or perhaps in more particular and express Terms than are to be found in any former Treaty between the two Nations, yet I am convinced, they will never agree to Acknowledgments so very explicit and particular, as those contained in the Propositions that have been now laid before us. At least I am convinced, they can never be prevailed on to do so, unless we should have the good Luck, by a long and successful War, to bring them to as low an Ebb, as ever any Nation, not absolutely conquered, was brought to. We may with as much Probability of Success propose forcing them to sign a *Carte Blanche*, as to propose, either by fair or foul Means, to compel them to make such particular Concessions as are mentioned in the Propositions now before us; and I do not think it is our Interest to endeavour to bring that Nation so low, even tho' we were certain of Success, and that the other Powers of

of *Europe* would sit still, and tamely behold our Triumphs, without either Jealousy or Envy.

Now, Sir, as I think every one of the Rights at present in Dispute between *Spain* and us, may be as fully secured to us by general Words in a future Treaty, as by particular Declarations and Concessions: As I think we may, in Consequence of such a Treaty, continue to enjoy those Rights, with as little Disturbance as we now enjoy the Island of *Jamaica*; therefore, if our Ministers can obtain such a Treaty, without putting the Nation either to the Hazard or Expence of a War, I must think they will do their Country a Piece of good Service; and consequently, I must think, it would be wrong in this House, to put it out of their Power to negotiate, or to advise his Majesty to approve of any such Treaty; which is what I think would be the infallible Consequence of our agreeing to the Resolutions proposed. I have, I have always shewed a very great Regard for the Merchants trading to and from our Plantations: I have as great a Regard for them, and I think them as useful a Body of Men as any in the Kingdom; but we must consider, Sir, that we have a great Number of Merchants concerned, and a very considerable Trade, a most beneficial Trade to this Nation, in *Spain* and the *Mediterranean*. The former might, perhaps, be no great Losers, they might even be Gainers by a War; whereas the latter would certainly be undone; and if the War should be of any Duration, some Branches of our *Spanish* and *Mediterranean* Trade might perhaps be irrecoverably lost. I hope I may be allowed to have some Regard for our *Spanish*, *Italian*, and *Turkey* Merchants. Upon their Account, I shall always be for avoiding a War with *Spain*, as long as possible, and shall never give my Consent to any

Measure or Resolution, that I think will breed such a Quarrel between the two Nations, as must end in the Destruction of one or other.

For this Reason, Sir, I shall be against our coming to any particular and peremptory Resolutions, with respect to any of the particular Rights the *Spaniards* now pretend to contest; but I shall most readily agree to any Motion that can be proposed, for shewing it to be our Opinion, that our Merchants have fully proved their Losses, and that the Depredations that have been committed are contrary to the Law of Nations, contrary to the Treaties subsisting between the two Crowns, in short, that they are every Thing bad, and without the least Pretence or Colour of Justice. This, I say, I shall most willingly agree to, because, I think, the Petitioners have fully proved the Allegations of their Petition; I think they have fully proved, that the Subjects of this Kingdom have met with such Treatment from the *Spanish Guarda Costa's* and Governors in *America*, as deserves the highest Resentment; but still, I think, if proper Satisfaction and full Reparation can be obtained by peaceable Means, we ought not to involve the Nation in a War, from the Event of which we have a great deal to fear; and the utmost we can hope for from the most uninterrupted Success, is a proper Satisfaction for past Injuries, and a proper Security against our meeting with any such hereafter, both which we are bound to think there are still Hopes of obtaining by way of Negotiation; because, if it had been otherwise, his Majesty would certainly have acquainted us with it, and would have desired us to provide for obtaining by Force, what he saw was not to be obtained by fair Means.

As for the Method, Sir, in which our Negotiations have been hitherto carried on, I do not think an Enquiry

quiry into it can, upon the present Occasion, come properly before us; but if it could, I believe it would be easy to shew, that they have been carried on in that Manner, which was the most proper for producing an Accommodation of all the Differences subsisting between the two Nations. I shall grant, that there are certain Periods, and certain Circumstances, which may make it the Interest of a Nation to be peremptory in every Demand they make, and not to be at any great Pains to shew the Reasonableness of their Demands, or to answer the Objections that may be made to them; because, as a Nation may sometimes have a Conquest in View, and may think they have got a seasonable Opportunity for accomplishing their Design, it may be more for their Interest to come to an open Rupture, than to continue in Peace upon the most equitable Terms; but this can seldom or never be the Case of this Nation, I am sure it is not our Case at present; nor has it ever once been our Case for above these twenty Years past; and therefore, it would have been, and still would be, Madness in us, to go to War with any of our Neighbours, if there be any Probability of obtaining Justice in a peaceable Manner.

From this Consideration we may see, Sir, that it would be imprudent in us to be peremptory in the Demands we make upon any of our Neighbours; and for the same Reason, we ought to be at some Pains to explain the Reasonableness of our Demands, and to answer all the Objections that may be made against them. But with respect to *Spain*, we ought, in my Opinion, to have more Patience, and to treat in a milder Method with them, than with any other Nation in *Europe*, not only because of the Advantage we reap by our Trade with that Nation, but because his Catholick Majesty is, I

am convinced, as much inclined to do Justice, and to preserve Peace, as any Prince in *Europe*. Our not having obtained Redress before this Time, does not, I believe, proceed from any real Intention in his Catholick Majesty to do this Nation an Injury, or to allow any of his Subjects to injure us, but from the Nature of the Disputes between us, which depends upon Facts, that must be fully enquired into, and certainly known, before it can be determined whether they are injurious or not; and as all those Facts happen at a great Distance, it is impossible to have a particular and distinct Account of them in a short Time, especially as it is very much the Interest of the *Spanish* Governors in *America* to misrepresent them. Considering therefore the Justice and the Uprightness of his Catholick Majesty's Intentions, considering his Friendship and good Inclinations towards us, it would have been wrong in us to make peremptory Demands at first; it would have been wrong in us not to answer every Objection that was made against any of our Demands: On the contrary, our own Interest made it incumbent upon us to make a full and particular Answer to every Objection, in order to convince his Catholick Majesty of the Justice of our Demands or Pretensions; because, from that Conviction we had, I hope we still have, great Reason to expect full Satisfaction.

Having thus, Sir, laid my Thoughts before you, upon the Matter now under our Consideration, and having given you my Reasons for not approving of all the Propositions, the Hon. Gentleman has told us he is about to make, I shall now beg Leave to offer an Amendment to his Motion, which is, That the first Part of his Motion should stand as it is in these Words, 'That it is the natural and undoubted Right of *British* Subjects to sail with their Ships on
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‘ any Part of the Seas of *America*,
 ‘ to and from any Part of his
 ‘ Majesty’s Dominions.’ So far I
 entirely agree with him; but in my
 Opinion, all that he has proposed to
 follow after these Words, ought to be
 left out; and instead thereof, I pro-
 pose, that these Words or Resolutions
 ought to be inserted, ‘ That the
 ‘ Freedom of Navigation and Com-
 ‘ merce, which the Subjects of, &c.’
 (as in his Proposition mentioned in
 our last, p. 436.)

I do not know, Sir, if I shall have
 the good Luck to meet with the
 Approbation of this House; but
 what I have proposed will, in my
 Opinion, be as strong a Vindication
 of all the Rights and Privileges now
 in Dispute between *Spain* and us, as
 if every one of them had been parti-
 cularly mentioned; and, I think, it
 will be a sufficient Testimony of
 its being the Opinion of this House,
 that the Facts set forth in the several
 Petitions now before us, have been
 fully proved; and that we look up-
 on those Facts to be such as are con-
 trary to the Law of Nations, and
 to the Treaties subsisting between
 the two Crowns. It will likewise,
 I think, testify fully to the World,
 the Resentment of this House, against
 the Depredations that have been
 committed upon our Merchants, and
 the Cruelties that have been used
 towards our Seamen; and that we
 are resolved not to suffer such Prac-
 tices to be continued in Time to
 come, nor to allow those that are
 passed, to go unpunished. This I
 must think, Sir, is the utmost Length
 we can go at present; it is the utmost
 Length this House ought to go, be-
 cause it will answer all the Ends we
 can propose by the most particular
 Resolutions; and at the same Time
 it will leave Room for putting an
 End to all the Differences between
Spain and us, in an amicable Manner,
 which, I have shewed, would very
 probably be rendered impossible, in

case we should now come to such
 particular Resolutions, as the Hon.
 Gentleman near me has been pleas-
 ed to propose; therefore I hope even
 the Hon. Gentleman himself will
 approve of the Amendment I have
 offered, to the End that we may
 appear to be unanimous in every Re-
 solution we may come to, upon an
 Affair, which is of so great impor-
 tance to the Trade and Happiness
 of this Nation, and to the Tranquil-
 lity of *Europe* in general.

After this, M. Cato stood up again,
 and spoke to the following Effect, viz.

Mr. President,

Sir,

I Find the Debate upon the Affair
 now before us, is like to take that
 Turn, which I from the Beginning
 imagined it would. After I had
 opened and explained the several
 Rights and Privileges of this Nation,
 which ought, in my Opinion, to be
 established by the Resolutions of this
 House, I said, I knew it would not
 be directly asserted, that they were
 not worth the Care of a *British* Par-
 liament, but such a Thing I sup-
 posed might be insinuated; and now
 I find it is pretended, they are so
 little worth our Care, that there is
 no Occasion for establishing them
 particularly and distinctly, but that
 we may satisfy ourselves with gene-
 ral Words and Expressions, which,
 it is said, will be found as effectual,
 as if every one of these Rights and
 Privileges had been distinctly and
 particularly mentioned and explained.

After the Experience we have had,
 for many Years past, I am surprized,
 Sir, to find it even so much as insi-
 nuated, that general Words or Ex-
 pressions, in any future Treaty, can
 be supposed to be as effectual, as
 particular and distinct Acknowledg-
 ments or Declarations; and I am e-
 qually surprized to find it asserted,
 that this House may, upon this third
 Appli-

Application, content itself with coming to a general Resolution.—Sir, there is not one of the Rights or Privileges now in Dispute between *Spain* and us, but what has been confirmed to us over and over again, by the general Words of former Treaties. These general Words we have, by sad Experience, often found to be ineffectual; and shall we again put our Trust in that, which we find has so often deceived us? Shall we allow the Freedom of our Commerce, and the Properties of our Fellow-Subjects, to depend any longer upon that, which has for many Years subjected the former to continual Interruptions, and has often made the latter a Prey to our Enemies?

Those Rights, Sir, which depend upon the Law of Nations, are certainly confirmed by the general Words of every Treaty of Peace and Friendship, that can be made between two Nations; and while neither pretends to contest, or to incroach upon, such Rights, both may rest satisfied with such general Confirmations; but if either of the two begins to contest any one of those Rights, or to usurp a Power, that is inconsistent with any one of them, it then becomes necessary for the other Nation to have that Right particularly explained, and of-new established, in the most distinct and explicit Terms: They are bound in Duty to Mankind, as well as to themselves, to compel the usurping Nation to pass from that Power, which they have usurped, and to pass from it in such Terms as shall leave no Room for setting up any such Pretence in Time to come. Of this Nature are the two first Rights, which I proposed to be established; I mean, 'That of its being the Right of *British* Subjects, to sail with their Ships on any Part of the Seas of *America*, to and from any Part of his Majesty's Dominions;' and 'That of its being the Right of *British* Subjects, to

' carry in their Ships all Sorts of Goods, Merchandize, or Effects, from one Part of his Majesty's Dominions, to any other Part of his Majesty's Dominions.' These, Sir, are two Rights, which depend upon the Law of Nations, and therefore, while neither of them was contested or incroached on by *Spain*, it was sufficient for us to have them confirmed by general Words; but of late Years, the *Spanish Guarda Costa's* have been so arrogant, that they have usurped a Power of entering in a forcible Manner, and searching every *British* Ship they meet with in the open Seas of *America*; and they have likewise usurped a Power of determining what Sort of Goods, or Merchandize, may be carried in *British* Ships, from one Part of the *British* Dominions to another. For this Reason, it is now become absolutely necessary for us to compel them, either by fair or foul Means, to pass from both these Usurpations, and to establish and confirm to us those Rights we are intitled to by the Law of Nations, not by general Words, as formerly, but particularly and distinctly, and in the most express and explicit Terms.

Then, Sir, as to those Rights, which may be peculiar to one Nation, and which it may have acquired, by Occupancy, Purchase, Conquest, or otherwise, the Nation that has made any such Acquisition, may at first rest satisfied with having their Right acknowledged by other Nations, in general Terms; but if any neighbouring Nation should begin to contest their Right, or should begin to interrupt and disturb them in the Possession of a Right they had lawfully acquired, it would then be incumbent upon them to have their Right particularly, distinctly, and expressly acknowledged, by that Nation at least, that had begun to contest their Right, or disturb their Possession. To apply this, Sir, to the two last Rights I proposed to be established: It is

well known, that we have long since acquired a Right to make Settlements in the Province of *Yucatan*, and to cut Logwood in the neighbouring Bay of *Campechey*; and it is likewise well known, that we have long since acquired a Right to gather Salt in the Island of *Tortugas*. Those Rights we not only acquired by a lawful Title at first, but they have since been oftentimes acknowledged and confirmed to us, by the Crown of *Spain*, in as express Terms, as they can be, by general Words or Clauses, in any future Treaty. While *Spain* did not pretend to controvert them, or to disturb us in the Possession, it was sufficient to have them confirmed by general Words, in those Treaties that were made between the two Nations; but of late Years, *Spain* has not only begun to controvert these Rights, but has actually disturbed us in the Possession, by seizing our Ships, and murdering or maltreating our Seamen, for no other Reason, but because they were found in the Exercise of those Rights, which belonged to them as Subjects of the Crown of *Great Britain*. We cannot therefore now satisfy ourselves with having such Rights acknowledged in general Terms: If we ever come to any Treaty with that Nation, we ought to have both of them particularly and expressly acknowledged. This, I say, Sir, we ought to have, this we will have, if we treat upon an equal Footing, and shew a due Regard to the Honour and Trade of our native Country.

Every one must grant, Sir, that we have as good a Right to cut Logwood in the Bay of *Campechey*, and gather Salt in the Island of *Tortugas*, as we have to the Island of *Jamaica*: The former has been as often confirmed as the latter, by the general Words of the Treaties subsisting between us and *Spain*; but the Difference at present is, that the former has been of late not only contested

but invaded, whereas our Right to *Jamaica* has not of late been openly contested, nor our Possession disturbed; and I am glad it has not; for I am convinced, that those who are so fond of Peace, as for its sake to give up our Right to cut Logwood in the Bay of *Campechey*, and gather Salt in the Island of *Tortugas*, would likewise for the same Reason have given up the Island of *Jamaica*, if the *Spaniards* had revived their Pretensions to that Island, and had insisted upon its being restored, as one of the Preliminaries.

Thus, Sir, I have shewn that, if we judge by Experience, we can put no further Trust in general Words or Expressions; and I have also shewn that, from the Nature of Things, we cannot now rest satisfied with general Acknowledgments or Declarations. If we have any Regard for the Honour or Trade of this Nation, if we have any Regard for the Lives, the Liberties, or the Properties of our Fellow-Subjects, we must insist that, in any future Treaty to be made between the two Nations, every one of the Rights or Privileges now in Dispute, shall be particularly and distinctly acknowledged; and if this be the Case, what Harm can there be in our coming to a distinct and separate Resolution, with respect to every one of the Rights I have mentioned? But this is not all, Sir: If this had been the first Time any Application had been made to us, against the Insults and Depredations of the *Spaniards*: If this had been the first Time we had found it necessary to come to any Resolution upon that Head, there would be some Pretence for saying, we ought to rest satisfied with a general Resolution: It might perhaps be supposed, that such a general Resolution as the Hon. Gentleman near me has been pleased to propose, would be sufficient for procuring a Remedy for those Evils, our injured Countrymen complain of;

but we have twice already come to such a general Resolution; we have twice already found that such a general Resolution has proved altogether ineffectual; and therefore, we are now both in Honour and Duty bound to think of some other Method, for giving Relief to those who, we find, have so justly complained. Even the Resolutions I have proposed, may prove ineffectual; I am afraid they will, unless we alter our Conduct; but surely, the least we can do, upon this third Application, is, to endeavour to vindicate and establish, by the Resolutions of this House, those Rights, which the *Spaniards* have so long dared to dispute with us, and which have so long given them a Handle for plundering our Merchants, and cruelly using our Seamen.

These Rights, 'tis true, Sir, are not disputed by any of our own Subjects, tho' I do not know, but there may be some, who, for their own selfish Ends, would be glad to give every one of them up. I shall likewise grant, that we cannot pretend to bind or fore-close Foreigners, at least in a legal Manner, by any of our Determinations or Resolutions; but if either of these were a good Reason, for our not coming to the Resolutions I have proposed, there would be no Occasion for our coming to any Resolution at all, relating to the Affair now before us. Is there any Subject in the *British* Dominions, that says, or dares say, that our Merchants have not been often plundered, and our Seamen maltreated, by the *Spaniards* in *America*? Does any Subject of *Great Britain* say, that a proper Satisfaction has yet been obtained for the Insults and Injuries, that have been put upon us? What Occasion can we then have, according to the Hon. Gentleman's Way of Reasoning, for coming to any Resolutions, for ascertaining the Truth of Facts, which none of our own Subjects doubt of? For, with Regard

to Foreigners, we can as little pretend to bind or fore-close them, with respect to the Truth of Facts, as we can pretend to bind or fore-close them, with respect to the Justice or Validity of any Right we pretend to.

A Therefore, if this Argument were of any Weight, there would be as little Reason for our coming to the Resolution the Hon. Gentleman has been pleased to propose, as for our coming to any one of the Resolutions I have mentioned.

B But in the Case now before us, Sir, we are not to come to Resolutions, with a Design to determine absolutely any Matter of Right, or to fore-close either our own Countrymen or Foreigners. The Design of our Resolutions ought to be, to

C shew both to our own Countrymen and Foreigners, that we are resolved to vindicate and assert, to the last Drop of our Blood, those Rights, which we think belong to us; and, that both our own Countrymen and Foreigners may know, what we look upon as the undoubted Rights and Privileges of the Nation, those, at least, which are now contested, ought to be particularly and expressly established by the Resolutions we are to come to upon this Occasion. This, Sir, will have a good Effect upon

E Foreigners, as well as our own Countrymen. If there be any among the latter, who think they may sacrifice the Honour and Interest of the Nation, to their own Ease and Security, by giving up all or any of the Rights now in Dispute between *Spain* and us, or by allowing them to be any longer incroached on or violated, they will from thence see, that they must expect the utmost Resentment and Indignation of this House; and if any Foreigners, particularly the *Spaniards*, have been, by our late pacifick Conduct, led into a Belief, that we dare not vindicate our known Rights and Privileges, such Resolutions will shew them, that, however pacifick,

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pacifick, or rather pusillanimous, some People amongst us may be, however much afraid some may be of a War, the Nation itself is neither become pusillanimous, nor is the Parliament of *Great Britain* afraid of a War, when it becomes necessary for preserving the Trade, or vindicating the Honour of the Nation. This will make the Court of *Spain* seriously consider the Consequences of an open Rupture with this Nation; and if they do, I am sure they will give us full Satisfaction and Security, rather than come to an open Rupture, unless they have got a greater Advantage from our late Negotiations and Conduct, than is yet generally seen through.

I shall not pretend, Sir, to know, or even to guess at, the present System of Politicks in *Europe*: It has been of late so entirely turned topsy turvy, and so little of our foreign Politicks have been communicated to this House, that no Gentleman can say he has any Knowledge of them, if he knows no more than what he has learned by being a Member of this House; but this I may venture to say, that if we consider and compare the two Kingdoms of *Great Britain* and *Spain* only, and the respective Power of each, even as it stands at present, we can have no Reason to be afraid of a War with *Spain*, nor can they have Reason to expect any Triumphs over us. Indeed, if the political Affairs of *Europe* have been negotiated into such a System, that *Spain* is now provided with powerful Allies, ready to support them in all their Pretensions upon us, and this Nation not provided with any one Ally, whose Assistance we can depend on, even in defending our just Rights and Privileges, we may have some Reason for continuing to submit tamely to the most cruel Indignities, rather than come to an open Rupture; but if this be our unfortunate Case,

which God forbid! I wish some of those Gentlemen, who know something of the present System of Politicks in *Europe*, would rise up and make us acquainted with our unlucky Circumstances, before we proceed to do any Thing that may render them worse. In such a Case, I shall admit, we ought to be extremely cautious of doing any Thing, that may tend towards involving the Nation in a War; but if this be our Case, if we cannot extricate the Nation out of those Difficulties it labours under at present, I am sure we ought to deliver it from the Counsellors who have brought it into those Difficulties; and for that Purpose, we ought to enter into an Enquiry very different from that we have been upon, and we ought to come to Resolutions very different from any that have been proposed.

But I have the Pleasure to think, Sir, that this is far from being our Case at present; because, if the Nation were in such a melancholy Situation, it would be absolutely necessary to reveal it to this House, upon the present Occasion; and as several Gentlemen amongst us, must be acquainted with it, I am persuaded they have a greater Regard for their native Country, than to conceal what is now so necessary for us to know. I am convinced, some of them would have laid our Circumstances fully before us, whatever might have been the Consequences, either with respect to themselves or their Friends. I cannot therefore suggest to myself the least Shadow of Reason, why we ought to be so much afraid of a War, as to accept of, or agree to, any future Treaty, that does not in the most effectual Manner secure to us the Possession of those Rights, which have been lately contested. We have, 'tis true, been told, that *Spain* may think it inconsistent with the Honour of their Crown, to make any express and particular Declarations. Sir, this Honour

Honour can at best be said to be but an imaginary one; but suppose it otherwise, they ought to have considered this, before they began to contest any of those Matters with us; for by their having begun to contest them, they have made it inconsistent with the Honour of the Crown of *Great Britain*, to accept of any general Acknowledgments for the future, at least with respect to those Rights they have dared to contest; and if either the imaginary Honour of the Crown of *Spain*, or the real Honour of the Crown of *Great Britain* is to be made a Sacrifice, I hope this House will never make the least Hesitation in their Choice of that which is to be made the Sacrifice; nor will this Nation, I hope, ever be in such Circumstances, as to be under a Necessity of wounding its own Honour, in the most sensible Part, for the Sake of avoiding a War with *Spain*, or with any other Power in *Europe*.

For this Reason, Sir, we have no Occasion to avoid coming to particular Resolutions, for fear of tying up the Hands of our Negotiators. On the contrary, it is one of the strongest Arguments for our coming to a particular Resolution, with respect to every Right now in Dispute between *Spain* and us; for of late Years, our Negotiators seem to have minded the Forms and Ceremonies of treating between sovereign Powers, more than the Substantials; and therefore, if, in the present Case, no particular Directions be given them by this House, I am afraid they will accept of such general Acknowledgments or Declarations, as will make those Rights more disputable than ever they were heretofore. I am far from thinking, that our coming to particular Resolutions, or our obliging those who may be hereafter employed to negotiate for us, to insist upon having those Rights now in Dispute particularly acknowledged

and confirmed, will make a War unavoidable; because, I believe, if the Court of *Spain* be once fully convinced, that nothing less will satisfy us, they will agree to such particular Acknowledgments, rather than come to an open Rupture: But they will certainly wave and put off agreeing to any such, as long as they think we will bear with it; because, in the mean Time, they will every now and then be getting something by the Plunder of our Merchants; and as our Ministers have, I think, already allowed them to dally with us too long upon this Head, I hope this House will now interpose, in order not only to convince the *Spaniards*, that nothing will satisfy this Nation, but a particular Acknowledgment of every Right they have taken upon them to dispute; but also to convince our Ministers, that they must not any longer allow the *Spanish* Court to trifle with us, as they have done for so many Years past.

But suppose, Sir, that the *Spaniards*, by presuming upon our Weakness, Timidity, or bad Conduct, should absolutely refuse to come to any particular Settlements with us, will any Man say, that for the Sake of avoiding a War, we ought to accept of a Treaty or Convention, from which we can expect no Satisfaction for past Injuries, nor Security against future? The Treaty of *Seville* may convince every Man, that we can expect nothing from general Acknowledgments, or general Promises: From that Treaty, we were told, the Nation was to reap great Advantages; but I know of no Man in the Kingdom, that has as yet found any Advantage from that Treaty, unless it be the Commissaries and their Attendants; and if our Ministers should now procure, or accept of, such another Treaty, as that of *Seville*, I hope they will pardon me, if I think, that they will do a notable Injury to their Country, instead of

of doing it a Piece of good Service. I have as great a Regard as the Hon. Gentleman can have for our *Spanish, Italian, and Turkey* Merchants: For their Sake, I think, we ought to insist strenuously upon the Protection of our Merchants, and the Freedom of our Navigation, in all Parts of the World; for if we allow our Merchants to be plundered, and our Navigation interrupted, in any one Part of the World, our Fate will soon come to be the same in every other Part of the World; and even in the *Mediterranean*, as well as the *American* Seas, the *Spaniards* have of late begun to make more free with the *British* Flag, than ever they, or any other Nation, durst do in Times past. Let no Gentleman therefore pretend, that his Regard for our Merchants trading to one Part of the World, ought to prevail with him to allow our Merchants trading to any other Part of the World, to be plundered and abused.

Sir, it is to our Trade and Navigation we owe the Whole of our Riches, Power, and Splendor. Before we had any Trade or Navigation, this Island was little better than a Desert; and if we should allow both to be destroyed, it will be soon reduced to its former Condition. The extensive Trade and Navigation we now have, is not so much owing to our Situation, which has always been the same, as to the great Care we have taken in these latter Ages, that our Merchants and Seamen should meet with Safety and Respect in all Parts of the World. Our great King *Edward III.* shewed such a Regard for our Trade and Navigation, that upon a Complaint from our Merchants, of their having been plundered by the *Spanish* Pirates or *Guarda Costa's* of those Days, he immediately fitted out a Fleet, and went in Person to revenge the Depredations that had been committed upon his Subjects, by which he restored

the Freedom of our Commerce, and added a Naval Triumph, to the many Triumphs he had before obtained at Land. The Protection of Trade and Navigation has always been one of the chief Concerns of all great Kings and all wise Nations. Even the *Romans*, who could never be said to be a trading People, shewed a great Regard for it, as appears from the Reproof *Cicero* gave them in his Days, for some Neglect they seem to have been then guilty of. His Words, Sir, upon that Occasion, are so applicable to this Nation at present, that I shall beg Leave to repeat them. In advising his Countrymen to support the Cause of their injured Merchants, among many other beautiful Expressions, he makes use of the following: *Majores vestri sæpe, Mercatoribus, ac Naviculariibus injuriosius tractatis, bella gesserunt.—Quare videte, num dubitandum vobis sit, omni studio ad id Bellum incumbere, in quo Gloria rominis vestri, salus sociorum, Vestigalia maxima, Fortunæ plurimorum Civium, cum Republica defenduntur.—Videte ne, ut illis pulcherrimum fuit tantam vobis Imperii Gloriam relinquere, sic vobis turpissimum sit, illud, quod accepistis, tueri & conservare non posse.*

These are Words, Sir, which no true *Englishman* will ever forget; and I am sorry to say, that I think there is too much Occasion for enforcing the Remembrance of them at present. We have been negotiating and treating with *Spain* for these twenty Years, about nothing that I know of, unless it was about Reparation and Security for our Merchants; and yet, during that whole Time, they have been plundering and abusing our Merchants, almost without Intermision. If a Nation's being subject to daily Insults and Injuries is not a Circumstance, that ought to make it pe-remptory in its Demands, I am sure no Circumstance can. This has been our Case for many Years, and will be

be our Case, till *Spain* be made to acknowledge, in the most express and particular Terms, every one of those Rights they now pretend to dispute. Ought not this to make us peremptory in our Demands? Ought not it to have made us peremptory long ago? — Sir, if we had peremptorily insisted upon full Satisfaction and Reparation, for the very first Injury that was offered us, I may venture to affirm, we would never have been exposed to a second. Nay, considering the Nature of the Injuries and Insults that have been put upon us, we ought at first to have done what has always been, and still is, I hope, in our Power; we ought to have taken Satisfaction, without being at any great Pains to demand it.

This, Sir, was what *Oliver Cromwell* did in a like Case, that happened during his Government, and in a Case where a more powerful Nation was concerned than ever *Spain* could pretend to. In the Histories of his Time we are told, that an *English* Merchant-Ship was taken in the Chops of the Channel, carried into *St. Maloes*, and there confiscated upon some groundless Pretence. As soon as the Master of the Ship, who, we are told, was an honest Quaker, got home, he presented a Petition to the Protector in Council, setting forth his Case, and praying for Redress. Upon hearing the Petition, the Protector told his Council, he would take that Affair upon himself, and ordered the Man to attend him next Morning. He examined him strictly as to all the Circumstances of his Case, and finding by his Answers that he was a plain, honest Man, and that he had been concerned in no unlawful Trade, he asked him, If he could go to *Paris* with a Letter? The Man answered, he could. Well then, says the Protector, prepare for your Journey, and come to me to morrow Morning. Next Morning he gave him a Letter to Cardinal *Mazarine*,

and told him he must stay but three Days for an Answer. The Answer I mean, Sir, says he, is, the full Value of what you might have made of your Ship and Cargo; and tell the Cardinal, that if it is not paid you in *three Days*, you have express Orders from me to return home. The honest, blunt Quaker, we may suppose, followed his Instructions to a Tittle; but the Cardinal, according to the Manner of Ministers, began to shuffle; for Ministers we know, Sir, will shuffle, when they are any way pressed; therefore the Quaker returned, as he was bid. As soon as the Protector saw him, he asked, Well, Friend, have you got your Money? And upon the Man's answering he had not, the Protector told him, then, leave your Direction with my Secretary, and you shall soon hear from me. Upon this Occasion, that great Man did not stay to negotiate, or to explain, by long tedious Memorials, the Reasonableness of his Demand. No, Sir, tho' there was a *French* Minister residing here, he did not so much as acquaint him with the Story, but immediately sent a Man of War or two to the Channel, with Orders to seize every *French* Ship they could meet with. Accordingly, they returned in a few Days with two or three *French* Prizes, which the Protector ordered to be immediately sold, and out of the Produce, he paid the Quaker what he demanded for the Ship and Cargo, which the *French* had unjustly taken from him: Then he sent for the *French* Minister, gave him an Account of what had happened, and told him there was a Balance, which, if he pleased, should be paid in to him, to the End that he might deliver it to those of his Countrymen, who were the Owners of the *French* Ships, that had been so taken and sold.

This, Sir, was *Oliver Cromwell's* Manner of Negotiating, this was the
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Method he took for obtaining Reparation; and what was the Consequence? It produced no War between the two Nations: No, Sir, it made the *French* Government terribly afraid of giving him the least Offence; and while he lived, they took special Care that no Injury should be done to any Subject of *Great Britain*. This shews, that *Oliver Cromwel* had a Genius and a Capacity for Government; and accordingly, however unjustly he acquired it, it is certain that this Nation was as much respected abroad, and flourished as much at home, under his Government, as it ever did under any Government: But when a Nation has the Misfortune to have a Man set at the Head of her Affairs, who knows nothing of foreign, who knows nothing but the little low Detail of Offices, and who, for his Capacity or Knowledge, ought never to have been advanced above the Degree of a Clerk in the Treasury, or some other of our publick Offices, it is then no wonder to see that Nation despised and insulted abroad, and dissatisfied, mutinous, and seditious at home.

I wish, Sir, those who have now the Direction of our Negotiations abroad, would assume, if possible, a little of the Spirit and Courage of *Oliver Cromwel*. He had as powerful a Party to struggle with at home, as ever any Minister had; but he never allowed the Danger he was in from that Party, to deter him from vindicating, upon all Occasions, the Honour and Interest of his Country abroad. He had too much good Sense to manage in such a pusillanimous Manner; for he knew that such Management would have increased the Party against him, and would have made them more daring, as well as more numerous. If our present Negotiators, or those who have the Direction of our Negotiations, take Example by him, I am sure they will not accept of any general Acknow-

ledgments or Promises; and therefore there can be no Danger in our agreeing to the particular Resolutions I have proposed. But I am afraid, Sir, they will not. I am afraid they will, for the Sake of patching up a Peace, accept of such Terms as will rather be a new Affront to the Nation, than an Atonement for the Insults and Injuries we have suffered. From the Resolution the Hon. Gentleman has been pleased to propose, for I deny it to be an Amendment to mine, unless we judge of Resolutions or Motions, as we judge of Men of War, we may see what he thinks will be a sufficient Acknowledgment of the Rights now in Dispute between *Spain* and us: He has reserved only what I may call one Beam, or one Plank, of what I proposed; he has reserved only the first two or three Sentences, and this, he has told us, will, in his Opinion, be as strong a Vindication of all the Rights and Privileges, now in Dispute between *Spain* and us, as if every one of them had been particularly mentioned. I confess, Sir, the Words he proposes to reserve, may be some Sort of general Acknowledgment of the first two Rights I proposed to be established, by the Resolutions of this House; but how they can be called an Acknowledgment of the last two, I cannot comprehend. The Words are, 'That it is the natural and undoubted Right of *British* Subjects, to sail with their Ships, on any Part of the Seas of *America*, to and from any Part of his Majesty's Dominions.' For God's Sake, Sir, how is it possible to imagine, that these Words can any Way relate to our Right of cutting Logwood in the Bay of *Campechey*, or to our Right of gathering Salt in the Island of *Tortugas*? It is impossible to imagine any such Thing; and therefore, if we agree to what he has offered, it may be supposed, that we have left

left our Negotiators at Liberty, to make a Sacrifice of those two valuable Rights to their own Ease and Security.

But, Sir, with respect, even to the first two Rights, which I proposed to be particularly established, what Security can we have from such a general Acknowledgment, more than we have at present? Suppose these Words, which are, by the Hon. Gentleman's Proposition, to be the only Words that relate to any of our Rights in *America* or elsewhere, I say, Sir, suppose these Words dressed up in the Form of an Article in a future Treaty, they would then stand thus: 'His Catholick Majesty acknowledges and declares, that it is the natural and undoubted Right of the *British* Subjects, to sail with their Ships on any Part of the Seas of *America*, to and from any Part of his *Britannick* Majesty's Dominions.' Now let us compare this new Security for the Freedom of our Commerce, with that which we have already, by Treaties now subsisting between the two Crowns. By the 15th Article of the Treaty of 1670, it is expressly declared, 'That the Freedom of Commerce shall not be interrupted by no Manner of Means, nor under Pre- tence of any Preheminence, Right, or Signiory, which either Party claims in the *West Indies*, or in any Part of *America*.' And by the 6th Article of the Treaty of *Utrecht*, it is expressly declared, 'That as the Subjects of their Majesties are to enjoy on both Sides an entire, secure, and unmolested Use and Liberty of Navigation and Commerce, as long as the Peace and Friendship, entered into by their Majesties, and their Crowns, shall continue; so likewise their Majesties have provided, that the said Subjects shall not be deprived of that Security, for any little Difference which may possibly arise;

' but that they shall, on the contrary, enjoy all the Benefits of Peace, until War be declared between the two Crowns.' From this Comparison, can any Man say, that this new Security, which is all the Hon. Gentleman seems to propose for us, will be any Way more extensive, or more explicit, or more effectual, than the Security we have already? Can this House then propose, that the Nation should now content itself with a Renewal only of that Security, which, by dear-bought Experience, we have found to be no Security at all?

Sir, I insist upon it, that such a general Acknowledgment or Declaration, would be so far from being a Security, that it would be nothing like a Determination of the principal Affair now in Dispute between *Spain* and us. His Catholick Majesty never pretended, that *British* Subjects have not a Right to sail with their Ships on any Part of the open Seas of *America*; nor do we pretend, that we have a Right to sail to and traffick in the Ports, Havens or Places possessed by the *Spaniards* in *America*, any farther than is allowed us by the *Assiento* Contract. But the King of *Spain* pretends, that, in order to discover whether any of our Ships have been sailing to and trafficking with his Subjects in *America*, he has a Right to enter and search our Ships upon the open Seas; and that, if upon such Search it be found, that they have any of those Goods on Board, which he says can be found no where but in his Dominions in that Part of the World, it is a full Proof that they have been carrying on an illicit Trade with his Subjects, and that therefore he has a Right to seize and confiscate the Ship and Cargo. On the contrary, we contend, and with Justice we contend, that he has no Right to search any *British* Ship on the open Seas, either in *America* or elsewhere; but that in all Cases, and in all Seas, if a *Spanish* Ship

Ship of War, or *Guarda Costa*, meets a *British* Ship at Sea, the *Spanish* Ship is by the 14th Article of the Treaty of 1667, 'not to come within Cannon Shot of the *British* Ship, but shall send their long Boat or Pinnace to the *British* Ship, with only *two* or *three* Men on Board, to whom the Master or Owner shall shew his Passports and Sea-Letters, whereby not only the Ship's Lading, but the Place to which she belongs, and as well the Master and Owner's Name, as the Name of the Ship, may appear; by which means the Quality of the Ship, and her Master or Owner, will be sufficiently known, as also the Commodities she carries, whether they be contraband or not, to the which Passports and Sea-Letters, intire Faith and Credit shall be given.'

And supposing, Sir, it should appear, by the *British* Ship's Passports and Sea-Letters, that she is sailing to or from any *Spanish* Port, and has prohibited Goods on Board; by the 15th Article of the same Treaty, 'Those prohibited Goods only are to be seized or confiscated, and not the other Goods; neither shall the Delinquent incur any other Punishment, except he carry out from the Dominions of *Spain* any Gold or Silver, wrought or unwrought.' Or, supposing it should appear by the *British* Ship's Passports and Sea-Letters, that she is bound to a Port belonging to some Power, then at War with the King of *Spain*, and has contraband Goods on Board; by the 23d Article of the same Treaty, 'Such Goods only shall be taken out and confiscated; but for this Reason the Ship, and the other free and allowed Commodities, which shall be found therein, shall in no wise be either seized or confiscated.'

I must observe, Sir, that this Treaty of 1667, was a general Treaty, which comprehended *America* as well

as every other Part of the World, therefore the Methods thereby established, for visiting our Ships at Sea, ought to be observed in the *American* Seas, as well as the *Mediterranean*, Bay of *Biscay*, or any other open Sea; and I must likewise observe, that tho' by this Treaty we got no Permission to trade with the *Spanish* Plantations in *America* or the *West Indies*, yet we did not, by that Treaty, lay ourselves under any express Obligation not to trade with them: We did not lay ourselves under any such Obligation, till the Year 1670; so that the *Spaniards* have no Right either to search or seize our Ships, but what they have by the Law of Nations, or what they got by the Treaty of 1670. By the Law of Nations, they have no Right to search or seize any Ship, unless she be found within some Part of their Dominions; therefore they have no Right to search or seize any of our Ships, upon any Part of the open Seas of *America*. And by the Treaty of 1670, we obliged ourselves only not to navigate or traffick in the Havens and Places, that are in the Possession of the Catholick King in the *West-Indies*; therefore, as the open Seas of *America* are not, as we can never allow them, or any Part of them, to be in his Possession, he can have no Right, by that Treaty, to search, much less to seize any of our Ships, that are sailing upon the open Seas of *America*.

On the contrary, Sir, by the Articles of the Treaty of 1667, the *Spanish* Men of War and *Guarda Costa's* are expressly, and very particularly, obliged not to come within Cannon Shot of any *British* Ship sailing upon the open Seas; and if they have a Mind to visit or see the Passports and Sea-Letters of any such Ship, they are expressly obliged not to send above *two* or *three* Men on Board for that Purpose; and to those Passports and Sea-Letters they are

are expressly obliged to give intire Faith and Credit; which last Words cut off every Pretence, they can have, for making a Search; and by the very Nature of the Thing, they can seize no Goods, even of those that are mentioned in the Bills of Lading, unless the Ship be bound to or from some Port of *Spain*, or to some Port belonging to the King of *Spain's* declared Enemies; because she can have no Goods on Board that can, by the *Spaniards*, be called prohibited, unless she be bound to or from some of their Ports; and she can have no contraband Goods on Board, unless she be bound to a Port possessed by their Enemies. Nay, even in these two Cases, they cannot pretend to make Prize of Ship and Cargo: They can seize and confiscate only those Goods, which are prohibited or contraband.

From what I have said, Sir, the Injustice of the King of *Spain's* Pretensions must evidently appear. It must appear evident, that he has no Right to search any of our Ships sailing upon the open Seas of *America*; and much less has he a Right to limit and prescribe, what Sort of Goods they shall carry from one Part of the *British* Dominions to another, or to determine, that their carrying any one Sort of Goods, shall be a Proof of their having been carrying on an illicit Trade with his Subjects in *America*. These are Usurpations lately set up in direct Opposition to the Law of Nations, and notwithstanding the general Acknowledgment of a free Commerce and Navigation, so often and so solemnly repeated, in the Treaties now subsisting between us; and these, Sir, are Usurpations which they have set up, under the false and frivolous Pretence, that such Practices are not inconsistent with the Freedom of Commerce or Navigation, and therefore not contrary to the general Acknowledgments and Declarations con-

tained in those Treaties. Does not this shew, Sir, that a general Acknowledgment of our Right to sail on any Part of the Seas of *America*, will not determine the Question in Dispute between us? Does not it shew, that such a general Acknowledgment will leave us as much liable to Insults and Depredations, after it is obtained, as we have been for these twenty Years past? Therefore, we ought, we must insist upon having these Usurpations given up and passed from, in the most particular, express and explicit Terms; otherwise we must give up our Trade and our Plantations, not only in the Islands, but also upon the Continent of *America*; and if we are so cowardly as to give up such a valuable Branch of our Commerce, I will foretel, that we must soon give up, not only our *Turkey*, *Italian*, and *Spanish* Trade, but also our Trade to *Portugal* and the Coasts of *Africa*; for the same Pretences may be set up for searching and seizing our Ships in the *Mediterranean*, Bay of *Biscay*, and *African* Seas, as are now set up for searching and seizing our Ships in the open Seas of *America*: Nay, I am convinced, *Spain*, or some other of our Neighbours, will soon set up the same Pretences for ruining our Trade in the *East-Indies*.

I have been the more particular, Sir, upon this Subject, and have taken up more of your Time, than I would otherwise have done, because I have Reason to suspect, that the Hon. Gentleman, who made you the 2d Proposition, which I find he has a Mind should pass as an Amendment to mine, in order to avoid putting the Question upon what I took the Liberty to propose; I say, Sir, I have Reason to suspect, that he may have some Hand in directing our future Negotiations with *Spain*; and as, by what he has been pleased to propose, he seems not to be so zealous in the Defence of the Rights

and Privileges of this Nation, as, I think, he ought, I hope this House will come to the Resolutions I have proposed, in order to prevent, as much as possible, the Effect his Counsels may have upon our future Negotiations with the Court of *Spain*; for if we are so good-natured, and so pacifick, as to continue our Negotiations yet a while longer, I believe, most Gentlemen that hear me will admit, that they ought to be carried on with more Vigour, and in a more peremptory Manner, than they have been for many Years past; and that whatever may be the Result of this Day's Debate, our Negotiators, at least, ought to insist upon particular Explanations and express Declarations, with respect to every Matter of Right now in Dispute; but more especially with respect to that Right the *Spaniards* have lately usurped, of searching our Ships upon the open Seas.

For this Reason, Sir, among many others, if the Question is to be put upon the Amendment proposed, I hope Gentlemen will disagree to it, in order that we may come at putting the Question upon the several Resolutions, I have taken the Liberty to lay before you.

The Right Hon. M. Tullius Cicero likewise stood up again, and spoke in Substance as follows, viz.

Mr. President,

Sir,

I Wish, that Gentlemen, in their debating upon the Affair now before us, would take Care to keep to the Point really in Dispute; for by so doing, I am sure, they would very much shorten the Debate. In what I took the Liberty to trouble you with upon this Subject, I am certain, I did not drop the least Word, that could intimate so much as a Doubt about any of the Rights or Privileges, which the Court of *Spain* now pretends to contest with us. So far otherwise, I expressly declared,

that I agreed with every Thing the Hon. Gentleman had said in Support of them; and I am still convinced, that no Gentleman, either within or without Doors, will so much as insinuate, that our Title to any one of those Rights and Privileges, is in the least doubtful; therefore I must think, that whatever the Hon. Gentleman has since been pleased to add, whatever may hereafter be said, in Support of any of those Rights or Privileges, or for explaining and demonstrating the Justice of our Title to all, or any one of them, is a Sort of fighting with the Wind: It is arguing without an Opponent; and consequently, I must beg leave to say, that I think it is taking up a great deal of your Time to no Purpose.

The only Question in Dispute among us, Sir, is, Whether we ought now to come to a particular Resolution, upon every particular Right or Privilege, which the Court of *Spain* pretends to contest with us; or, If we ought only to come to one general Resolution, which may virtually include them all, and so leave it entirely to his Majesty, and those employed by him, to obtain such farther Explanations, and such particular Acknowledgments, as the present or future Circumstances of Affairs may make proper for him to insist on? This, Sir, is the only Point now in Dispute amongst us; and therefore, without taking Notice of what the Hon. Gentleman has now been pleased to add to what he formerly said, for explaining and enforcing the Justice of our Title to those Rights and Privileges, which the *Spaniards* have lately taken upon them to contest, I shall only add a few Words for enforcing what I have said before, in favour of the general Resolution I proposed, and then I shall endeavour to answer the few Arguments that have been made use of, for shewing that we ought to come to parti-

particular Resolutions, upon every particular Right or Privilege, now contested by *Spain*.

The Hon. Gentleman has told us, that not only our Negotiators ought to insist positively and peremptorily upon particular Explanations and express Acknowledgments, with respect to every particular Right or Privilege lately contested, but that this House ought now to come to such Resolutions as may make it absolutely necessary for them to insist upon such. I wish, Sir, with all my Heart, I believe every honest Subject of *Great Britain* wishes, that it were in our Power to give Laws to every Potentate in *Europe*, and to prescribe to them how they should behave, in every Case, not only to us, but to one another. But this is at present impossible; and even tho' we had a Probability of Success in any such Attempt, I do not think it would be prudent in us to attempt making use of our Power in a Manner, too positive and haughty, lest by so doing we should provoke the other Powers of *Europe* to unite together, in order to reduce the Power of this Nation, and to make us submit to such Laws as they might be pleased to prescribe to us, instead of our prescribing to all or any of them. For this Reason, Sir, in all our Negotiations, we must have a Regard to Policy, as well as to what we think Justice, and we must take Care, in the Demands we make upon any one of our Neighbours, not to insist so positively and so haughtily, even upon those Terms we may think reasonable, as to excite the Jealousy of the rest. In Contests between Nations, it is the same as in Contests between private Men: Each Party thinks himself right; and as there is no Judge or Judicature, that has a Right to determine finally in those Contests, that happen between two independent Nations, both ought to consult the Sentiments of their Neigh-

bours, and both ought to limit their Demands, or extend their Compliances, according to that Opinion, which they find prevails generally among their most impartial Neighbours. This may often be a Reason for a Nation's accepting of general Declarations, in Cases where particular Explanations, and express Concessions, would not only be just, but much more to their Honour and Advantage.

I shall, I believe, Sir, every Gentleman in this House will, readily acknowledge the Justice and Reasonableness of every one of our Demands upon *Spain*; but whatever Opinion we may have about the Matters now in Dispute between us, it is certain the Court of *Spain* does not as yet think our Demands either reasonable, or just; I am persuaded his Catholick Majesty, at least, does not think so, otherwise his natural Propensity to Justice, which is so well known, would certainly have induced him to comply with our Demands. Even the other Courts of *Europe* cannot perhaps be prevailed on to think of them in the same Way we do; and if we should too peremptorily insist upon our present Demands against *Spain*, and should resolve to compel them to agree to such Terms as we had a Mind to propose, and to acknowledge our Rights and Privileges in such a Manner, and by such Words and Expressions, as we should think fit to prescribe, it might stir up some of the other Powers of *Europe* to join with *Spain*, who would otherwise have remained neutral; and it might prevent our best Friends and most natural Allies from giving us their Assistance, in a War, which we had unnecessarily and imprudently brought upon ourselves.

What the present System of Politicks in *Europe* may be, I shall not pretend, Sir, to determine: I do not believe any Gentleman in this House can. It is a System that depends upon the Humour of so many Courts, and upon

upon so many Accidents at every one of these Courts, that it must be altering and changing every Day. Therefore it is impossible to communicate it to this House; nor can we, if it were now communicated, in common Prudence, allow it to have any great Influence A on our Resolutions. It may be at present in such a State, as might make it prudent in us to lay hold of the Opportunity, in order to have all Matters in Dispute between *Spain* and us settled and determined, in the most particular and explicit Manner; B and yet, before we could possibly take Advantage of the Opportunity, which the then System of Politicks had furnished us with, it might be so much changed to our Disadvantage, as would make it prudent in us to lower our Crest, and accept of any Expedient, for putting off our being obliged to come to an open Rupture with *Spain*, at such an unseasonable Juncture.

This, Sir, shews the Wisdom and the Excellence of our Constitution, which has trusted entirely to the Crown, the Power of making Peace and War; and at the same Time, it shews how imprudent it would be in us to incroach upon that Prerogative, by laying the Crown under a Necessity to make War, however unseasonable, however perverse the C Conjuncture may be. All Matters relating to Peace or War, besides the Secrecy that is requisite, are liable to so many Changes, and to such sudden and unlooked for Alterations, that nothing but a single Person, or an Assembly that is continually subsisting, can be exactly informed of every Incident that occurs, or can have such a thorough Knowledge of foreign Affairs, as to be able to foresee the lucky or the cross Incidents that may probably occur, so as to take an immediate Advantage of the former, or so as to take such Measures as may prevent the dangerous Consequences of the latter. There-

fore, while our happy Constitution remains intire, while the Parliament meets but once a Year, and does not continue assembled above three or four Months in the twelve, it is impossible for either House of Parliament to intermeddle, much less to prescribe to the Crown, in any Affairs relating to Peace or War, without exposing the Nation to imminent Danger.

I shall grant, Sir, that after the Rights of a Nation have been contested and invaded, or after an unjust Claim has been actually set up, there is greater Occasion for particular Explanations, and express Concessions, than there was before; but Nations must chuse proper Times and Seasons for insisting even upon that, which they are most justly intitled to; and whether the present be a proper Time for our insisting, in a peremptory Manner, upon the utmost we are intitled to, with respect to *Spain*, is a Consideration which this House cannot pretend to be a competent Judge of; because no Man can judge in such a Case, without knowing thoroughly the Circumstances and Complexions of all the Courts in *Europe*, which is a Knowledge no Man can pretend to, without having previously been made fully acquainted with all the Secrets of the Cabinet; and I am sure, no Man who wishes well to his Country, would desire, or can expect, that his Majesty should communicate all the Secrets of his Cabinet to such a numerous Assembly. Nay, if he should, E it would not enable us to determine what might be proper to be done a Month hence; for that very Communication might probably occasion a thorough Change in the Face of Affairs all over *Europe*; which Change might make those Measures destructive to the Nation, which at present may be justly thought the most salutary and prudent. In my Opinion therefore, the best Thing we can do, upon

upon the present Occasion, is, to come to some general Resolution, in order to shew the Resentment of the Nation against the Insults and Injuries we have met with, and to leave it entirely to his Majesty's Care and Wisdom, to get such Satisfaction, and to get our particular Rights as fully acknowledged, as Time and future Circumstances will permit; for if the *Spaniards* should prove more obstinate than we have reason to expect, and his Majesty should, in his great Wisdom, find that he has a proper Opportunity for compelling them to do, what in Justice they ought, he will certainly make Use of that Opportunity. Our coming to a general Resolution can no Way oblige his Majesty to accept of general Acknowledgments, if he finds that he can, either by fair or foul Means, obtain particular and express Concessions; but our coming to particular and explicit Resolutions, will render it impossible for his Majesty, either to propose or accept of general Acknowledgments, even tho' he should then be convinced, that the Nation could not come to an immediate Rupture, with any Prospect of Advantage; so that our coming to a general Resolution cannot possibly be attended with any bad Consequence, whereas our coming to particular Resolutions, may force the Nation into a War at a very unseasonable Juncture, which of course may be attended with the most fatal Consequences.

I shall likewise admit, Sir, that the first Part of the Resolution offered by the Hon. Gentleman, which I propose should stand Part of the Resolution of this House, does not comprehend the Rights or Privileges we have to cut Logwood in the Bay of *Campechey*, and to gather Salt in the Island of *Tortugas*; but the Disturbance we have met with in the Exercise of these two Rights, will, I think, be sufficiently comprehended

under the following Words, in the Resolution or Amendment I have proposed, by which we are to declare, 'That before and since the Execution of the Treaty of *Seville*, and the Declaration made by the Crown of *Spain*, pursuant thereto, for the Satisfaction and Security of the Commerce of *Great Britain*, many unjust Seizures and Captures have been made, and great Depredations committed, by the *Spaniards*.' For all the *British* Ships that have been seized and confiscated, for cutting Logwood in the Bay of *Campechey*, or for gathering Salt in the Island of *Tortugas*, ought to be reckoned among those unjust Seizures and Captures, which we complain of. However, as I said before, by keeping thus in general Terms, we do not lay the Crown under any Obligation to accept of general Acknowledgments: His Majesty, if he finds the Circumstances of Affairs will permit, may insist upon both those Rights being particularly and expressly acknowledged.

The Freedom of our Commerce and Navigation, Sir, is the principal Affair in Dispute between the two Nations, and that which, in our Resolution, we ought to shew the greatest Regard to. For this Reason, I proposed keeping in the first Part of the Hon. Gentleman's Proposition; and, I think, the Words I have proposed to be kept in, will be a sufficient Vindication of our Right to a free Commerce and Navigation in the open Seas of *America*, without adding any Explanations. His Majesty may nevertheless, if he finds it proper, insist upon Explanations; but I do not think we should, by our Resolution, so limit his Majesty, that he cannot hereafter agree to any Treaty, without such Explanations; because, if the *Spaniards* should make Satisfaction to us for what Injuries they have done, and agree, even in general Terms,

to a Renewal of all the Treaties now subsisting between the two Crowns, we ought to accept of it, rather than engage in a War; especially, if it appears, that they agree to such a new Treaty with a real Design to observe it; for if we should afterwards find ourselves deceived, if they should begin to play the same Game over again, we may, in all Probability, find a more seasonable Opportunity than the present, for punishing their Breach of Faith, and enforcing the Observance of Treaties.

For my own Part, Sir, I do not pretend to know any Secrets about the present Circumstances of Affairs in *Europe*; I do not pretend to know what Allies *Spain* may expect, or what Assistance we have to depend on, in Case of a War between the two Nations; but from what is publick and well known, I think every Gentleman ought to conclude, that the present Circumstances of Affairs in *Europe*, are none of the most favourable for this Nation, and that many Accidents may occur, which may render them much more favourable, than they are at present; therefore, however much some Gentlemen may take upon them to ridicule the Tediousness of our Negotiations, I think it is much more prudent to protract and draw them out to a Length, than to run the Nation headlong into an unequal War, or to give up any of our Rights and Privileges by a precipitate Treaty.

I am indeed surprized, Sir, to hear it insinuated, that, because I am not for such particular Resolutions, as I think may force the Nation into an unnecessary or unseasonable War, therefore I do not think the Matters now in Dispute between *Spain* and us, worth the Care of a *British* Parliament. Sir, I think every one of them greatly deserves the Care of every Branch of our Legislature; but, I think, we should not take an improper Opportunity, or improper

Methods, for shewing that Care; we should not, like an over fond Mother, destroy our Child, by taking imprudent or unseasonable Methods for preserving it. While the Dispute remains in the Shape of a Negotiation, the only proper Way we can take for shewing our Care, is, by general Resolutions and Addresses, to assure his Majesty, that we will support him in whatever Measures he may think proper, for asserting the Rights and Privileges of the Nation; and after his Majesty has declared to us, that he finds he can vindicate those Rights and Privileges no other Way but by Force of Arms, which certainly he will not do, till he finds he can engage in War, at least upon an equal Footing, if not with a more than probable View of Success, we are then to shew our Care and Concern for the Rights and Privileges of our Country, by enabling his Majesty to vindicate them, with that Vigour, which becomes such a powerful Nation.

I hope, Sir, I am as zealous in the Defence of the Rights and Privileges of my Country, as any Man in the Kingdom; but I shall never allow my Zeal to carry me beyond the Bounds of Prudence and Discretion. I shall never affect Popularity so much, as to be guided by those popular Prejudices, which, I think, if indulged and followed, might involve the Nation into great, perhaps insuperable, Difficulties. Such a Conduct I shall always look on as imprudent in the Authors, as well as pernicious to the Nation; for if, upon the present Occasion, or any such Occasion, we should unnecessarily hurry the Nation into a War, and the Event should not answer the Peoples Expectations, I know who would be blamed, I know who would be the first to move for an Enquiry into the Conduct of those, who had allowed the Nation to be led into a War, which it could not prosecute with Advantage; and

as we cannot judge, whether, upon the present Occasion, the Circumstances of *Europe* are such as may enable or permit us to prosecute a War against *Spain* with Advantage, therefore I must be against our coming to such Resolutions as will, in my Opinion, make a War with *Spain* not only unavoidable, but imminent.

Several other Speeches upon the same Subject, and this Journal to be continued, in our next.

Cassman, Sept. 30. N^o 638.

A Supplement to the Dissertation on SIGN-POSTS. (See p. 297.)

Dear Caleb,

ONE of your Correspondents lately obliged us with an ingenious Dissertation upon *Sign-Posts*, and a Proposal for regulating them, according to the present Posture of Affairs.—I hope he will not take it amiss, if I add a little Supplement to it.

In the first Place, I observe with Pleasure, that tho' nothing is more common in *England* than the Sign of a Cannon, especially in our Dock and Seaport-Towns, I never saw the *French King's* Inscription upon it, *Ratio ultima Regum*; nor that of *Oliver Cromwel*, which I think infinitely more expressive; viz. *O Lord, open thou my Lips, and my Mouth shall shew forth thy Praise*.—As these *Mottos* were never yet inscribed upon any of our *Sign-Posts*; so it would certainly be inexcusable at present, when we scorn to make Use of such brutish, and unphilosophical Arguments, as the *Mouth of a Cannon*. No, the Mouths of our *Ministers*, and *Ambassadors*, have been long found, by Experience, to be more rational, and prevailing.—But your Correspondent hath explain'd this Point so well already, that I shall proceed to shew, that several other Peculiarities of a Nation, may be discover'd by the Choice of their Signs, and the Inscriptions upon them.

I will begin with the least, viz. their Wit and Art in drawing Customers to their Houses. As for Instance;

What honest, jolly Toper, can find it in his Heart to pass by the Sign of the Sun, with this judicious Recommendation?

The best Drink under the Sun.

Which I may venture to say, hath caused many a good Company to go home to their Wives and Families, without so much as the Light of the Moon.

A poor Cobler, who was obliged to set up an Ale-house, very modestly chose one of the

Implements of his Trade for his Sign, with this ingenious Motto,

Search all the Town over, and you'll find good Ale at the Last.

What Cobler, at least, (and we know there are many honest Fellows amongst them) could forbear stopping, and drinking a Pot with their Brother *Jobson*; since it might happen to be any of their Fates, to sell good Ale at the Last?

I have been often tempted myself to call at a little Ale-house, on the *Hounslow Road*, merely out of Compassion, upon reading this moving Invitation,

Poor Jack striving to live.

I must do poor Jack the Justice to acknowledge, that he served me with as good Malt Liquor as any I ever tipt; and therefore, Mr. D'Anvers, I hope you'll be so good as to recommend him to all charitable Travelers upon that Road.

But, of all Inscriptions upon *Sign-Posts*, I never met with one more extraordinary than at the Sign of the Snail, upon the *King's Road*, as it is call'd; which runs thus in *Metre*; and *Metre*, we know, is a very alluring Thing to the People of *England*.

The Snail is slow,

And I am low;

What d'ye think?

Pray stop and drink.

A certain eminent Critick told the Man of the House, it was a Pity so fine an Inscription should be spoil'd by one small Error; and that, by the Addition of one Word, he could not only make it good Sense, but likewise help him to another whole Line, and in Rhime too; as thus,

The Snail is slow,

And I am low:

So,

What d'ye think?

Pray stop, and drink.

Upon which the poor Man bow'd very low, thank'd the learned Critick for his Alteration, and promised to insert it upon his *Sign-Post*.

But, notwithstanding all this Skill and Address, in drawing Customers to their Houses, they likewise shew a true Judgment of the World; particularly, in the following Inscription, which is very common, both in Town and Country.

Drink here, and drown all Sorrow.

Pay to Day, and trust To-morrow.

Which might be apply'd to much higher People than poor Ale house Tiplers; and I believe some of the best Tradesmen in this Town would be obliged to me, if I could inculcate the same Maxim into the Minds of their premier Customers.

But, zdy, the Religion and Loyalty of the English are equally discover'd upon their Signs, and the Mottos upon them.

X x x 2

At

As to *Loyalty*, what is so common as the Sign of the King's Head, or the King's Arms? And, when we happen to have a popular Prince of Wales, like the Black Prince, to mention no others, the Feathers are equally common, and sometimes even predominant.

I am not Antiquary enough to account how the Bell originally happen'd to have this venerable Motto inscribed upon it; *Fear God, and honour the King*; but it being now grown trite, a jovial Inn-keeper, who was a great Lover of Poetry, desired a reverend and facetious Divine, his Customer, to turn the same Motto into Verse. The Man had but little Room on his Sign; and yet, being Post-Master, insisted upon having his *Loyalty* fully express'd; so that the worthy Clergyman was obliged to leave out the *Fear of God*, and happily executed the other Part, in the following beautiful Tetrastick:

Let the King
Live long;
Dong ding,
Ding dong.

As to the *Love of Liberty*, I am sorry to say that I cannot recollect any Mottos of this Kind; tho' it is our most boasted Privilege. Whether it proceeds from the dejected Spirits of my Countrymen, or their Fear of the modern Doctrine of Libels, I cannot, I dare not say; but, in the barren Mountains of *Switzerland*, nothing is so conspicuous as this Passion, upon almost every little Cottage, in such Sentences as these:

*Dulcis Amor Patriæ.
Dulce est pro Patriâ mori.*

Nescio quâ natale solum Dulcedine, &c.

Which puts me in mind of Mr. Addison's fine Verses from *Italy*, to the late Earl of *Hallifax*.

'Tis liberty that crowns Britannia's isle,
And makes her barren rocks, and her bleak mountains smile.

But as the same Gentleman observes, in another Part of his Writings, the People of *England* are a Nation of Politicians, from the first Minister down to the Cobler, and peculiarly remarkable for hanging out their Principles upon their Sign-Posts. Of this almost every Street in *London* gives us abundant Instances; but I think the most curious is at a little Ale-house, on the Road to *Greenwich*, where there is the Sign of a Man pretty corpulent, with his Legs straddling upon two Hogsbheads, and this Motto under it,

Stand fast, Sir Robert.

I could not read this, without trembling for the poor Man; and am really surprized that Mr. P— hath not yet taken due Notice of it; for what can be more easy than to lay an Information against the Master of the House, in the usual Form; setting forth, 'That the said Ale-house-keeper, being a seditious Person, and wickedly and maliciously devising

to vilify and traduce the Government of our Sovereign Lord the King, did on the—Day of—publish, or cause to be publish'd, a certain scandalous and seditious Sign, viz. a corpulent Man straddling between two Hogsbheads, (innuendo, two empty, and continually rolling, Hogsbheads) with a false scandalous and seditious Libel, by Way of Motto, or Inscription, under it, viz. Sir Robert (innuendo, Sir Robert W—le) stand fast; (innuendo, that he is at present in a tottering Condition) against the Peace of our Sovereign Lord the King, his Crown and Dignity, to the great Scandal of these employ'd in the Administration of his Government, in Contempt of the Laws, &c.'

What, I say, can be more easy than to draw up such an Information, or to support it? For a thousand Witnesses might be produced to prove, that such a Sign, with such an Inscription, is actually exhibited to publick View; and if the poor Man should happen to be try'd by a special Jury, I am at a Loss to guess what Defence he could make against Mr. Attorney General's Innuendos. But as I am far from designing to spirit up a Prosecution against any Body, I hope he will take this Hint, and make a Bonfire of his Sign, on the 5th of November next ensuing, together with the Pope, the Pretender and the Devil, according to ancient and laudable Custom. I dare not advise him to make the same Example, tho' only in Effigy, of the Queen, or even the King of Spain, lest it should give the Marquis de la Quadra, or his Excellency Don Geraldino, just Cause to complain of any Indignity offer'd to their Court, whatever repeated Indignities they may please to bestow upon the British Nation.

I am, SIR, &c.

E. §. To CALEB D'ANVERS, Esq;
Sir,

READING the unparallel'd Lines on Britain's Pilot, in last Saturday's Gazetteer*, it put me in Mind of a Couple of Stanzas, which, as I have heard, were made by that great Wit the Earl of Rochester, as a Burlesque on the Translation of the Psalm into English Metre, by Hopkins and Sternhold. I have sent them to you, in Hopes you will insert them in your next Paper, which will oblige

Your humble Servant,

P. B.

Let's bore a hole in Robin's snout,
And put therein a string,
And lead him all about the town,
That folk may laugh at him.
And when we've led him all about,
And vexed him full sore,
We'll pull the string out of his snout,
And vex him so no more.

Com.

* Occasion'd by the Sickness and Recovery of a certain great Person, (p. 464, 465.)

Common Sense, Sept. 30. N^o 87.

A LETTER from Common Honesty to
Common Sense.

Loving Kinsman,

THE severe Treatment I have constantly met with, from all Ranks and Degrees of Men, has so affected my Constitution, that I thought of nothing less than making a total Exit from this ungrateful World. But the kind Reception which you have lately met with, has somewhat raised my Spirits, and encouraged me to show my Head once more; tho' I am so worn to a Skeleton, that the few of my Friends who are yet living, I believe, will hardly know me again. — It is become scandalous, according to the present Mode, to be seen in my Company; tho', God knows, I have always led a blameless, inoffensive Life, and am so universally hated and despised, only because I can't help People to support the reigning Luxury, and grow rich all on a sudden, without either Merit or laudable Endeavours.

You know the Misfortunes which beset our Family at a certain Period of Time, and the deplorable Condition I was left in, at an Age when it could hardly be expected I should shift for myself. However, for my immediate Subsistence, I apply'd myself to a very eminent Tradesman in the City, requesting to be taken into his Service: But he told me, 'I could not be of any Use to him in the Retail Way; that there was no Instance of such a one as my self ever being behind a Counter; and, in short, that he would not advise me to think of being any Way concerned in Trade, for that I should not find any Dealer fond of employing me, especially as I was a Foreigner, and not free of the City.' However, he gave me a Letter of Recommendation to a noted Attorney of his Acquaintance, who (as he assured me) very much wanted my Assistance.

I immediately went with my Credentials as directed, but met with a cold Reception. He sat lolling in a great Elbow-Chair, and ask'd me with a Yawning, 'What is your Name, Sir?' — *Common Honesty*, Sir, I replied — *Com — mon Hon — esty!* cries he, (yawning again) I have read the Letter you brought, but I am sure *Common Sense* never sent you hither: You can be of no Manner of Use to me in my Branch of Business; for I cannot employ you in any one Cause in twenty; if I should, I might be in Danger of losing many Clients, who would naturally suspect your betraying their Secrets; and if they were once to know I have any Dealings with you, it would blast my Character. Besides (adds he) young Man, was I minded to bear with all these Inconveni-

encies, you would never find the Practice of the Law turn to any Account for yourself; you are so odious among those of our Profession, that it is a great Question with me, whether you would ever be admitted as an Attorney; but, if you should, how will you live? Who the Devil do you think will employ you? Therefore I would advise you to turn your Thoughts to some other Profession; and, if you can do nothing better, get yourself or——d: You, surely, can't be obnoxious to the C——y; they will at least give you such outward Countenance, that you will never want a reasonable Support.'

I maturely considered his wholesome Advice, and began to form some Method of putting it in Execution; and soon thought of a Person I imagined very proper for my Purpose: And who should this be, but a certain R—— R——, who, when young, had great Obligations to our Family, in recommending him to his first Preferment in the C——.

I attended him one Morning early, and waited an Hour before I could be admitted to Audience; when, on a sudden the Word was given for the Stranger to come in to my Lord. I immediately went in and pay'd my Respects to him: 'How do you do, young Man?' says the P——; I have not seen you a great While: I thought you was dead or gone Abroad. And pray, what has brought you hither now?' I gave him the best Account I could of my past Misfortunes, and present Case; and while I was employing all my Rhetoric to move his Pity, his Lordship was reading; which Inattention to my Request gave me little Hopes of Success. At last, he suddenly lays down his Book, and turned up his Head towards the Ceiling (for I remarked he could not look me

in the Face, and therefore I inferred he was ashamed to see me) and then spake thus: 'You talk of the Obligation, I have had to your Family; I know of none: Some little Civilities indeed pass'd between me and them at College, when your Father officiously thrust himself upon me as a Tutor, and to direct me at my first Setting out in the World: But if I had trusted to his Judgment, or Credit, I might have remained at College still.' And, then he declared, he could not, in any Sort, intermeddle in my Affairs, which he apprehended was incompatible for one in his Station, and might be a Hindrance to his farther Advancement; and wished me to provide for myself in the best Manner I could; for (says he) you may be assured of it, you will have no Assistance from me.

I knew not well what Project next to fall on. However, I walked out one Morning, and by Accident met with a Recruiting Sergeant. I bethought myself the Army refused nothing,

nothing, and therefore, since I could do no better, was determined to list for a Soldier. I called the Serjeant aside, and offered myself to his Disposal, telling him at the same Time, my Name and Place of Birth. The Serjeant stood some Time in Suspence, scratching his Forehead, and at last said; 'I am afraid, my Lad, you will never learn the Military Discipline, or make any Figure in the Field; and, should you list in our Regiment, you will be very troublesome, both on a March, and in Quarters; for no Camarade will care to mess with you. However, as our Captain is in great Want of Men, I will venture to introduce you.'

We went away directly to the Captain's Quarters, where the Serjeant having told our Business, the Captain shook his Head, and said; 'I might, perhaps, be fit enough for the Sea-Service; but that I was not of a proper Size for his Company;' and then demanded of the Serjeant, where he pick'd me up, and how he came acquainted with me? The Serjeant reply'd, with great Truth, he never saw or heard of me before in his Life, and accidentally met me a little While ago. 'Send him packing then, cried the Captain; this Fellow would make a Mutiny in the Regiment; besides, I know all his Family are disaffected to the present E——t in C—— and S——, and therefore I would not take him on any Consideration.'

My evil Genius still pursuing me, I had Recourse to another Expedient. I remember'd my Father, in his Life-Time, had a Place in the T——, which he enjoy'd till the Death of his Patron, a great Man, who presided at the Board; and therefore I had no more Wit than to fancy I might be useful to his Successor; and so I resolv'd to go one Morning to his Levee, and try my Fortune once more.

On my Arrival at his Door, whether I was despised for not being a Beau, or for not coming in a Coach, or whether I was taken for a S—— L—— just come to Town with my own Wants and my Ancestors Merits, I cannot say; but, to my great Surprize, *Abraham Brasi*, the Porter, told me, *his Master was not at Home*. This I knew to be false, and therefore wou'd have gone in notwithstanding, but *Abraham* shut the Door in my Face: Which being soon after open'd for somebody's going out, I accosted *Abraham* very curteously, 'Sir (says I) you have insulted me without any Provocation, I must desire the Favour to be admitted.' And told him my Name and the Business I had with his Master, who I knew often valued himself on his Intimacy with my Family: But alas! I only made *Bad Worse*. He called me all the Rascals and Scoundrels he could think on, and swore, 'I should never enter the Doors while he was Porter, and

that I was one of those concerned in mobbing his Master about the *Excise-Bill*, and that I only came there for some wicked Design on his Person, or to rob the House; and that, if I did not instantly depart, he would charge a Constable with me, and swear the Peace against me.'

A I thought proper, upon this, to retire some Distance from the Door, where I took the Opportunity, as several well-dress'd Gentlemen were going in, to tell them my Case; begging of them to acquaint his Honour with the Behaviour of his Servant: But not a Word could I get out of one of them. Some shook their Heads, and others started from me as if I was infected. At last a grave elderly Gentleman, with a Bundle of Papers in his Hand, going into the great Man's, stop'd a little to hear my Complaints, and was so kind as to open his Mouth. 'I have (says he) Sir, some small Knowledge of your Family, with whom I was acquainted before I came into a Publick Employment: But what Business have you here? Complaining of *Abraham Brasi's* Behaviour will be to no Purpose: He knows his Master's Mind, to whom he ought to be civil, and whom he may be rude to; and, depend upon it, you are so universally hated by the whole Family, whose Interest it is that you should never come within these Doors, that you are not safe in staying longer to hear them. Nay, I don't know, if it was suspected I now speak to you in so friendly a Manner, but it might be as much as my Place is worth: Therefore I desire you to make off as soon as possible.'

By this Time, Kinsman, you may suppose I was in a very melancholy Condition, when I happen'd to meet with a Country-Gentleman, who, on the first Representation of my Circumstances, took me into his Service, and entertain'd me at his Country-Seat with great Kindness and Humanity. He intrusted me with the Management of all his Affairs, and advis'd with me on the most important Transactions of his Life. Being now arriv'd at the Bounds of my Ambition, Peace and Content, I despised all worldly Greatness with the Spirit of a Philosopher.

F But, as nothing in this World is permanent, the Devil put it into my Lady's Head to live in Town; and that my Master might not oppose her Design from the Expences attending the Removal, she perswaded him to offer himself as a Candidate for the ensuing Election in a Neighbouring Borough. I was presently dispatched away to the Place of Election, as one my Master confided in, to make timely Interest. But the Electors, one and all, took a mortal Antipathy to me at first Sight, and, instead of making Friends, I made so many Enemies, who on my Master's Arrival insisted I should be forthwith discharged

his Service, or he must not expect one Vote there. Immediately I was dismissed with a private Intimation, that, 'tho' I was useless in an Election, yet, if I went to Town and waited with Patience, I should be taken in again for the Management of my Master's private Affairs.' Soon after his Arrival in Town, I waited on him, in Hopes of what I expected being performed: But never was Man so changed as my Master! He told me, 'That he had no farther Service for me, being now engaged to take other Measures than when he lived in the Country: That he was firmly resolved never again to be under that Restraint by any Servant, as he had by me: That his Election cost him a great Deal of Money for a double Return, and, if he did not play his Cards well, all would be lost; and, being under solemn Engagement never to have any the least Correspondence with me, he concluded with, *forbidding me his House.*'

Having thus, loving Kinsman, try'd all reasonable Methods of getting a Livelyhood, and having at present no Means of Subsistence, my Application, which is the last I shall make, is to you; and finding you have set up a *News-Paper*, my humble Request is to be taken into your Service.

There has formerly been a strict Union and Friendship betwixt the two Branches of our Family, *Common Sense* and *Common Honesty*, tho' I own yours to be of superior Rank, having supply'd the World with many K. and Q. But, tho' we have not arrived to that Honour, you have found us useful in our Station; and it can be proved, by many Instances in History, that *Common Sense* never flourish'd or made any considerable Figure, without the Assistance of *Common Honesty*.

I don't suspect you will ever write for the M —, in which Case I know I shall be intirely useless to you; the only Favour I ask is, some Employment under you in the mean Time, which will be gratefully acknowledged by

Your Affectionate Kinsman,
COMMON HONESTY.

London Journal, Sept. 30. N^o 999.

History of News-Papers, and Mr. Freeman's last dying Speech.

THE Use of *News-Papers* was not, I think, earlier with us than the Time of the *Civil War*, when Accounts were published at *London* and *Oxford*, suited to the Capacities and Interests of those who were to read them; and were not so much Repositories of Events, as of Observations, Conjectures, and Reflections on Daily Occurrences. In the Reign of *Charles II.* News and Politics were divided, and a regular Series of both Sorts of Papers, as manufactured by the dif-

ferent Parties subsisting then in the Nation, came out as constantly as the Circumstances Things were in would allow. In the Days of *K. William*, and in the first Years of the Reign of *Q. Anne*, all Sorts of Pamphlets and Papers were current; and it may be very truly said, that political Points were never more freely or more fairly argued, than in those Times.

About the Middle of the *Queen's* Reign, Papers of Entertainment were introduced by the ingenious *Mr. Steele*; to him, I think, it is generally agreed, we owe the Plan of the *Tatler*, the most innocent, the most inviting, and at the same Time the most instructive Paper, that, perhaps, ever appeared: It was intended to combat Vice and Ignorance; but in a new Way; in a Way peculiar to the Author, who had the best Method of Teaching, while he seemed to be only *Tatling*, that ever Man had.—The *Spectators* and *Guardians* succeeded the *Tatlers*, and were written in the same Way; only the latter slid at last into *Politics*, which began to be the reigning Taste of the Times. Not long after, *Weekly Journals* sprung up, and ranged themselves on this Side, and on that; so that no Party wanted its Militia of Writers, ready to perform their *Saturday's* Exercise, for the Diversion of the Publick.

But, of all the *Weekly Journals* that have appeared, there never was any that rose to that Height in Sale, or in Reputation, which this Paper did, when it was the Vehicle of *Cato's Letters*; and I frankly confess, that the Desire of sailing in the same Bark with those Authors, as well as pursuing the same Course, was one strong Motive to my appearing at first, and continuing for so many Years a publick Writer in this Paper.

There is a Time for all Things; and I believe it has been long ago observed, that all Sorts of Writings, and consequently all Sorts of Papers, entertaining or political, have their Periods: The Publick cannot therefore wonder that, after subsisting so many Years longer than most of its Cotemporaries, *The London Journal* should go to its Grave in Peace, having some Time ago retired from publick Affairs, and dealt only in neutral Essays, such as did not either serve or injure any Party: Perhaps this may be taken for the Reason of its Decease, since the Fever of Faction hath risen so strongly of late, as to hinder most People from relishing sober Papers; but it is really not so. I have, as an Author, divided myself for some Time between this and another Paper; a Task I find too hard for me; and therefore, I hope, *Mr. D'Anvers* himself will allow, that I have shewn some *Common Sense* in parting with half my Burden. Papers, Proprietors, and Authors, are as much subject to Vicissitudes, as other Things; and all that remains in their

own

own Power is, to submit with a good Grace, and to leave their Readers, before they leave them.

But as this hath been always a Paper of Instruction, some Advice may be look'd for at a Time when we acquaint the Publick, that *It is to be a Paper no more*; and, as I would willingly fulfil all reasonable Expectations, I think it but just to demand a more than ordinary Attention to my last Words:

"I am so happy as to lay down this Paper, while the Inhabitants of Great Britain enjoy greater Felicity than any other People, and with this remarkable Circumstance, That it can be taken away by none but themselves: Our Constitution in Church and State is excellent in itself, and out of Danger from its Governors: We see the Religion established by Law embraced by a vast Majority of the People; and we see all such, as thro' Error, or Scrupulousness, cannot conform to it, allowed to serve God in their own Way: We see the publick Affairs of the Nation, freely, as well as constantly, canvassed in the publick Council of the Nation. We see the Courts of Justice open; we see the Laws take their free Course; but we see not, nay, we scarce hear of the *Prerogative*, which was so dreadful to our Ancestors: Our Trade is more extensive than ever, and some of our Colonies have now more Ships than their Mother Country had some few Centuries ago: Our naval Power was never so great: And our Plenty is such as exceeds not only the Hopes, but the Conceptions of our Forefathers. But it may be said, if Things are in this State, whence the Jealousies, whence the Murmurings, whence the Clamours, that we daily hear? Alas! Whence indeed? I have not either Room or Inclination to tell: Yet permit me to say, that in Paradise itself, there was a Serpent: And therefore, tho' Britain may be a Paradise, it may have its Serpents too: But I hope those who dwell therein, will not suffer themselves to be hissed out of the choicest Blessings that God, by the Agency of Nature and human Prudence, could bestow upon them. And with this Wish in favour of my Country, I close these Discourses, which were all written in its Service."

R. FREEMAN.

We sincerely hope, Mr. Freeman does not go out of the World with a Lye in his Mouth.

Craftsman, Oct. 7. N^o 639.

Of RIDICULE, with a Scheme for regulating the M——l Writers.

IN Answer to Mr. Freeman, who, in the *Gazetteer*, wrote against all *Jesting* and *Raillery*, upon publick Affairs, Mr. D'Anvers says: I must put him in Mind, that as

great and as wise Men as himself, both *Heathens* and *Christians*, have been of another Opinion, and treated the gravest Subjects in the most ludicrous Manner.

The divine Socrates was so famous for his ironical Method of Disputing, that he obtain'd the Name of, ὁ ἔριππος, or the *Droole*. Horace is universally allow'd to be not only one of the best Satirists, but likewise an excellent Moralist, especially in his *Etick Epistles*; and is almost peculiarly famous for laughing People out of their Vices, instead of lashing them, like *Juvenal*, or insulting them, like *Perfius*. As this was his Talent, he hath defended it, particularly in the following Passages.

— Ridentem dicere verum

Quid vetat?

And again;

— Ridiculum acri

Fortius & melius magnas plerumque secat res.

Which being finely imitated and improved, in a late Poem, I hope the worshipful *Gazetteers* will excuse my quoting a few Lines out of it, tho' it really happens to come from *Twickenham*. — Mr. Pope, having mention'd the Effects of his *Ridicule* upon several Persons, who had no Regard for any Laws, human or divine, breaks out into the following beautiful Rapture of Poetry.

O sacred weapon! left for truth's defence,
Sole dread of folly, vice and insolence!
To all but heav'n-directed hands deny'd;
The muse may give thee, but the gods must guide;
Reverent I touch thee! but with honest zeal;
To rouse the watchmen of the publick weal;
To virtue's work provoke the tardy hall,
And goad the prelate slumb'ring in his stall.

No Papers were ever received with more general Applause than the *Tatlers* and *Spectators*, where *Ridicule* was the chief Weapon employ'd against *Vice* and *Folly*. And Mr. Addison, in the *Freeholder*, says, "Our Nation are such Lovers of *Mirth* and *Humour*, that it is impossible for detach'd Papers, which come out on stated Days, either to have a general Run, or long Continuance, if they are not diversify'd and enliven'd, from Time to Time, with Subjects and Thoughts accommodated to this Taste. Political Speculations, in particular, however just and important, are of so dry and austere a Nature, that they will not go down with the Publick, without frequent Seasonings of this Kind. A mere Politician is but a dull Companion; and, if he is always wise, is in great Danger of being tiresome and ridiculous."

Some of our most eminent Divines, particularly Dr. South, have not thought it unbecoming their Character, to make use of *Raillery* and *Ridicule*, where the Souls of Men were concern'd. Nay, I could even quote some of the Fathers to the same Purpose.

But in controversial Writings, upon the *bigbest* Points, nothing is so common, when the *Combatants* happen to be, in any Degree, Masters of *these Talents*; Witness the same Dr. *Scut* and Dr. *Sberlock*, in their Dispute about the *Trinity*.

But if the *ministerial Gentlemen* are not blest'd with any Share of *Wit*, or *Humour*, which I must confess is not their own Fault; why do they throw their dull Dirt at *others*? or how can they expect not to be laugh'd at and ridiculed, instead of being seriously answer'd?

I really cannot forbear commiserating their *Patron*, who is infinitely more annoy'd by their *Stinkpots*, than any of *those*, who have the Misfortune to differ from him. For this Reason I have bestow'd many an Hour upon contriving a *Scheme*, (the only *political Project* I was ever concern'd in) for rendering *these Men* of some Use to him; and at last have hit upon one.

This *ministerial Society* being compos'd, as I am inform'd, of a Jumble of *all Professions*, and nothing being so common amongst Men as to mistake and misapply *their Talents*; I am afraid this may be their Case, and therefore propose the following Regulation.

There are, it seems, *two Lawyers* still amongst them, of great Eminence in their Profession. Let it therefore be their Business, instead of scribbling themselves, to supervise the Works of their Brethren; lest their abundant Loyalty for the *K—g*, and more fervent Devotion to the *M—r*, should now and then betray them into a Sort of Treason against the *Constitution of their Country*. There are likewise *two famous Schoolmasters* in their Club, of *different Functions* and *Endowments*; but of the same Principles, I presume, both in Religion and Politicks. Let Mr. *Osborne* therefore undertake the Drudgery of teaching them to *spell, read, and write*; after which, let the *Hackney Parson*, who must no doubt be a Piece of a Scholar, put them forward with a little *Latin*, and a few Grains of *Morality*, if he hath any to spare. I have not heard any Thing, for some Time, of the most accomplish'd Sir *A. B. C.* but if he hath not left the Club, or they should happen to have any other *Gentleman* amongst them, I wish he would endeavour to polish them with a little good *Manners*. I was going farther to propose, that as their Society is likewise blest'd with an ingenious *Irishman*, it should be his Task to exert all the Rhetorick of his Country; for a *Bull*, or a *Blunder*, is infinitely more lively and diverting, than their dull Reasoning; but, upon second Thoughts, I found it needless; since every Member of the Club hath proved himself to be as good a Master of *this Kind of Wit*, as the most celebrated *Hibernian* of them all. Finally, when they have a Mind to be merry, let Mr. *Ralph Freeman* brew their *Wine*, and

entertain the Company with a Tune upon the *Bag-pipes*; for which he certainly is, or ought to be qualify'd.

If *this Scheme* should not take Effect, I must leave their *Patron* to judge what Course ought to be next taken with them; for I solemnly protest, I have done the best in my Power for his Service.

Common Sense, Oct. 7. N^o 88.

Of the IN's and OUT's, with the Character of a true PATRIOT.

THE spur-gall'd *Hackneys* in the *Gazet-ter* have seem'd, of late, to give up the Defence of their *Patron*, and have chosen the Method of Recrimination upon the Question beg'd. 'Those who are out (*say they*) only want to be in; and if they were in, they would pursue the same Measures, which they now blame and oppose.' How do they know either of these Points? As to the first, it is notorious, that many who are now out, might either have been continued in, or receiv'd again with Advantage, if they had thought proper. As to the second, it is very improbable, that, if they were in, they would chuse to pursue such Measures, as they see have brought those who are in, under such a Number of Difficulties, and such a Load of Unpopularity.

The *Hacks* love to play upon the Words *Patriot, pretended Patriot, Pseudo-Patriot, &c.* and are equally witty upon Patriots, in Verse and in Prose: But I really believe they don't know the Meaning of the Word.

I look upon a Patriot to be one who pursues the Good of his Country, preferably to, and independantly of, all private Considerations.

He envies no Man's Power or Profit, and never opposes Measures for the Sake of the Men, but opposes Men on Account of their Measures. If he desires to deprive Ministers of Power, it is because they abuse it; if he desires Power himself, it is only to use it for his Country's Good.

He thinks nothing useful but what is honest, and will no more oppose the good Measures of other People in Power, than connive at, and over-look their bad ones, in order to imitate, or reap the Benefit of them, when in himself.

It is not necessary that Patriots should not accept Employments: On the contrary, he may do his Country more Service in Place than out of Place. But then, as he will not obtain that Place by any unjustifiable Means, neither will he use it to unjustifiable Purposes, but will quit it more readily than he took it, rather than concur with, or not oppose Measures, which, in his Conscience, he thinks wrong or pernicious, &c.

Y y y

This

This is what I call a real Patriot; and he who differs from this Description, I fairly deliver him up to *Freeman and Company* to unpatriot and revile as much as they please, or, what would be worse for him, to commend.

The Scriblers, I am sure, will agree with me in this *Character*; but then they will bid me produce the Man it fits. I do not deal in *Panegyrick*: But, if there be a Man who, from his first Appearance in the World, always distinguish'd himself in the Cause of Liberty, and of his Country; who, from a very uncommon Disinterestedness, gave up Half the Salary of the first Employment he enjoy'd, and who readily quitted a second more considerable, for the Sake of opposing Measures he thought inconsistent with the Good of the Publick; who, with the Spirit of one of the first *Romans*, and the Eloquence of a *Cicero*, has constantly used both his Tongue and his Pen in Defence and Support of Liberty; who, as *Lycurgus* enforced the Observation of his Laws by a voluntary Exile, has given the surest Pledge of his Resolution to pursue invariably that glorious End, by tying himself down, by the strongest Declaration, never to accept of any Employment whatsoever, that his Actions, however just, may never be suspected to proceed from any other Motive than the Love of his Country.—If there be such a Man, he comes very near, if not quite up to the Description above mention'd.—Let the ministerial *Hacks* produce me one such *living* Justification of their Measures, if they can.

Mr. *Freeman* says, That, was it to do again, he believes some Folks would not part with a white Stick, or a Regiment of Horse:—Mr. *Freeman* is a very incompetent Judge of what these Folks would do, who, I dare say, in no one Particular think like him: But I am of Opinion, that they might recover what they lost with Interest, if they repented of the Sacrifice they made to the Good of their Country, and their own Conscience. The great Indulgence shewn to some *Penitents* would, probably, be shewn to them, if they thought fit either to desire or accept it.

I therefore advise these wretched, blunt Tools of Power, these wooden Saws, to have done with Invective and Recrimination, for which they have neither Abilities nor Matter; but let them betake themselves to fulsome *Panegyrick*, for which they have now a fine Field open: Let them commend the Vigour and Courage of their Pay-masters, whose invincible *Armada*, fitted out at little or no Expence to this Country, has intimidated all *Europe*, and procured a *Treaty*, by which ample Reparation is to be made for all our past Injuries, and effectual Security required for our future Commerce and Navigation; and let them lead the thankful *Chorus* of our *British*

Merchants, with grateful Acclamations for the Protection they have receiv'd.

Old Common Sense, Oct. 7. N^o 87.

THE two Articles of News publish'd in the *Gazetteer*, and its faithful Ally the *Daily Advertiser*, with Regard to a Letter from a Merchant in *Bristol*, publish'd in this Paper, challenge some Notice.

We are told, that the Merchants of *Bristol*, to the Number of 190, or 200, have sign'd a Certificate, (which is lodg'd, it seems, in the Secretary's Office, in order to be presented with an Address to his Majesty) that none of their Body was privy to that Letter, and likewise to purge themselves from the Imputation of entertaining any of the Sentiments it contains. To which is charitably added, in the first of those *Hackney-Papers*, that the said Merchants are in Search of the Author, in order to bring him to Punishment, &c.

In my humble Opinion now, this is one of the most remarkable Incidents, that has occur'd on the Side of the People for many Years.—A Letter published in a Paper, wholly devoted to the Service of the Publick, and wrote with the most pathetick Concern for the trading Interest of the Kingdom in particular, is said to be complained of, by those very Persons it was intended to serve; and even by their Body, from one of whose Members I must still suppose it came.—Yes, I call *God* to witness, and all the Faith and Honour that is due to the most solemn and earnest Appeals of Men, that the Letter in Question was sent by the Penny-Post, to the Printer of this Paper, in that Character, was dated from *Bristol*, and by the Style, Spelling, Hand, and many other Particulars, perfectly agreed with the mercantile Manner of Writing: That the usual Author, or Authors concern'd in this Paper, had no farther Share in it, than to correct the Orthography, and soften, not imbitter, many of the Expressions contained in it; and that it was publish'd in mere Complaisance to the Writer, and with no other View; since we had given our Sentiments of the late Misunderstandings with *Spain*, more at large, and in a more argumentative Manner, in several Papers before.

This being, strictly, the Matter of Fact, I am, in my own Conscience, acquitted of the Forgery laid to my Charge; and, with Respect to the World, if there is any one Merchant of *Bristol*, who has not sign'd this Certificate; or, if any one that has, can be supposed guilty of retracting his Opinion, and turning with the Tide, no absolute Conclusion can be drawn from it, either to their Justification, or the proving my Guilt. Beside, if the Letter is not genuine, 'tis not impossible but it was sent as a Snare, to draw

on this very Consequence. By the treasonable Papers often sent to us, I have long had Suspicions of this Nature; and, if I had thought this in the least criminal, I had avoided the Bait, as effectually as I have done many already.

Weekly Miscellany, Oct. 13. N^o 303.

Praise of Marriage, and the Conduct of some Husbands censur'd.

A S Man is a sociable Creature, not made for Solitude but Conversation, Marriage is a noble Institution, and a little useful Society, from whence many Advantages arise. The Sorrows of Life are lessen'd by this Division, and the Comforts of it increased by Communication. Marriage is, or shou'd be, the most perfect State of Friendship. Mutual Interest produces mutual Assistance. 'Tis owing to this Institution, that Families have been rais'd and form'd. All Parentage and Proximity proceed from hence; and in a happy Marriage, where both Parties behave well in their respective Stations, the Honey-Moon increases to Years of Bliss. Long Possession rivets the Affection; and nothing, but Parting, can be a material Affliction. No Age nor Infirmary can unhinge a matrimonial Esteem. The many good Qualities, Services and obliging Usage of each other, are so lodged in the Memory, as to make Life a continual Scene of Courtship, and the Husband to carry always the Lover about him.

On the contrary, when I see Quarrels and Disagreements in this State, I am concerned for the Desolation which the divided House will certainly come into. How moving is the Sight of an innocent Offspring in such a Family of Discord, with a Tenderness of Nature pleading for both, not knowing which Side to take, and ty'd up by Duty and filial Affection from acting against either! What Instruction can Children receive in such Confusion? And how pernicious to Posterity such evil Example? It is Matter of the greatest Surprise, that a Man who aims at Character and Reputation, that in the Affairs of Life will keep his Word to preserve his Credit, should forfeit all Honour and Integrity at home, and have no Regard to the solemn Engagements made to a Wife.

It was a well judg'd Action of a Prince I have read of, who took an Officer's Commission from him, questioning his Courage, upon an Information that he beat his Wife. The Paw of the Lion or Bear, which deals Slaughter to every one else, is a nursing Arm to the Female. But such rough Discipline is chiefly confin'd to the vulgar and underbred Part of Mankind. Porters and Carmen are chiefly distinguish'd for such domestic Heroism,

The Beau Monde content themselves with silent Hatred and Indifference. Strangeness and Ceremony, separate Beds and Apartments, kept Mistresses, &c. are the genteel Exercises of their Aversion. In short, no Man can be a fine Gentleman, who is not a Man of Honour; and no Man can be a Man of Honour, that makes a bad Husband.

Craftsman, Oct. 14. N^o 640.

Observations on Trade and Commerce.

S I R,

I F Wealth be the Strength of a Country, and Trade the Source of Riches, it is certainly incumbent on a wise and free People, to be vigilant in preserving and promoting of Commerce, in all its Branches, as it is the Foundation and Pillar of their Liberty. "It is not (as M. Colbert observed to Lewis XIV.) Land, that fights against Land, but the Riches of one Nation against another; since 'tis Money, that feeds and clothes the Soldier, furnishes the Magazine, provides the Train of Artillery, and answers the Charge of all other military Preparations."

The first Traders we read of, were the Phœnicians, Sicilians, Athenians, and Carthaginians. Those little States, by cultivating Trade, were a long Time able to preserve their Commonwealths; and our Friends the Dutch, merely by Industry and Commerce, (their own Product being very inconsiderable) were enabled to shake off the Yoke of Spain, and not only support their Liberties ever since, but long and expensive Wars with other Nations.

Edward III. was the first King of England, from the Conquest to his Time, who gave any Encouragement to Trade; for, in 1338, the Exportation of Wool was prohibited by an Act of Parliament, and foreign Cloth workers and other Manufacturers were invited to settle here. The Author of Britannia Languens tells us, that "Such Care was taken of our Trade, that in the 28th Year of his Reign, the Value of our Exports amounted to 291,484*l*. and our Imports to no more than 38,970; so that the Balance was then in our Favour 252,514*l*; a vast Sum, as he says, if we consider the Difference of the Value of Money, in those Days, to what it is now. The Exports thus greatly exceeding the Imports, which are the only Means of enriching a Kingdom, was owing to the Discouragement given to foreign Manufactures in England. Whereas a contrary Practice, of late Years, hath diminish'd our Exports, and increased our Imports, which hath contributed to the Balance of Trade being turn'd against us, and given our Neighbours a very considerable Advantage.

But, we do not find that any of our Princes, from his Time to Q. Elizabeth, had any

any Regard to Commerce. Her *skillful Ministers* saw the Springs and Advantages of it to the Nation, and establish'd the *Woollen Manufacture in England*. They sent Ships into *America, &c.* to make Discoveries; began the Settlement of Colonies; and, I may say, laid the Foundation of our Trade. They likewise sent *Ambassadors*, who were wise and able Men, to *Turkey, Muscovy, and India*, as well as into the several Courts of *Europe*; not to patch up *Treaties*, or to purchase *Alliances*, but to find out Markets for our *Manufactures*, to settle Commerce, as well as a firm and lasting Peace and Friendship with those Nations; and tho' the Plans they laid down were pacifick, yet they would not suffer the *meanest Subject* to be injured, or abused; nor the *Honour of the Nation* to be insulted, by any Prince, or Power whatever; but had Recourse to *Arms*, whenever Justice was deny'd, or delay'd; and not only defeated the ambitious Enterprizes of the King of *Spain*, but brought that *haughty and insolent Nation* to Reason, by convincing them, more than once, that we were superior in *Power*, tho' their Strength by Sea, as well as Land, was greater, and our naval Force much inferior to what it is now.

K. *James I.* was an indolent Prince; but tho' he made no Improvements, nor sufficiently regarded the Plan laid in the preceding Reign, yet he would not give up any Points, even such as lately, and but very lately, have been clamour'd at, and were always thought advantageous to the Nation.

K. *Charles I.* had no Leisure to make himself acquainted with Trade; yet notwithstanding the Distractions of the Kingdom, the *Merchants* carried on their Business, by the mere Dint of their own Industry, without almost any Care of the Government, and the Face of Plenty appear'd all over *England*.

Oliver Cromwell had very good Notions of Trade; and, in his Time, the *Act of Navigation* was first settled. He obliged the *Dutch* to make Satisfaction for the Violences they committed in the *East-Indies*; and added *Jamaica* to the *British Dominions*. The Advantages, which arise from that *Island*, have amply repaid the Expence, in conquering it, and in maintaining our Right, with Interest.

K. *Charles II.* was too fond of Pleasure, to give Attention to any Kind of Business. However, in his Reign, several good Regulations were made in Trade; tho' Time, and the Circumstances of Affairs since, have made some Alterations necessary.

K. *James II.* had better Notions of Trade and Navigation, than any Prince before him. He made great Improvements in the *Navy*, and had form'd some Schemes in Favour of Trade. But his *Plan of Government*, and the Alteration he intended in *Religion*, blasted

those Designs, and deprived him of three Kingdoms.

K. *William* had likewise very good Notions of Trade. He was always attentive to Proposals, on that Account, and gave them the utmost Countenance. But the Opposition he met with in his Government, and the War with *France*, render'd several Schemes ineffectual. However, Trade flourish'd, many *Manufactures* were set on Foot in his Reign, and have since been brought to Perfection.

Q. *Anne* encouraged Trade, as much as the Circumstances of her Affairs would admit of; and several Acts were made in Favour of it; particularly, an Act to encourage the Trade to *America*. But the long, and bloody War with *France and Spain* gave great Interruption, and our *Merchants* met with many heavy Losses. Her *Ministers* had, indeed, an Opportunity of retrieving Matters, in some Measures, at the Peace of *Utrecht*, and settling Commerce on a firm and lasting Foundation; but either they did not understand, or neglected some Advantages, that then offer'd; for they too readily granted the *French Cape Britton*, and the Liberty of Fishing on the *North Coasts of Newfoundland*; by which Means they gain'd from us an immense Treasure, equal to a Mine of Gold. We, indeed, had the *Assiento Contract* granted us, and the Liberty of sending a Ship annually into the *Spanish West Indies*. These were new Channels of Trade; but cannot be said to be new Acquisitions; and Experience has convinced us of what was then suggested, that they were rather prejudicial than of any Advantage to the Nation; tho' some Persons have tasted the Sweetness, and found their Account in promoting of them. What Projects have since been form'd, and Stipulations made in Regard to our Commerce, especially within 18 Years past, I shall leave to some abler Hand, who is better acquainted with the several *Treaties and Conventions*, made within that Time. Perhaps, the ingenious Authors of the *Gazetteer* may oblige the World with some necessary and useful Observations, which will give them an Opportunity not only of displaying their great Talents, but blazoning the Ability, Integrity and consummate Wisdom of their Patron.

The Soil of *Great Britain* is sufficient to supply us plentifully with the common Necessaries of Life, and our *Woollen and other Manufactures* furnish us with several Commodities, of great Use; but, considering the growing Power of our Neighbours, by Sea and Land, it is absolutely necessary to be always upon our Guard, and at such an Expence in maintaining a Fleet sufficient for our Security, as cannot be supported merely by the Product and Income of our own Country; and therefore it is incumbent on us, if we have any Regard for ourselves, or for Posterity,

city, to have Recourse to *Industry* and *Frugality*, and to encourage and put our *Trade* under proper Regulations. Our vigilant Neighbours have made such Advantages of our Weakness, as are greatly beneficial to them; and may be of fatal Consequence to us. We have, indeed, a considerable Navigation, and our Ships of War never were more numerous, or in a better Condition; our *Exports*, as well as *Imports*, are also very large; from whence most People flatter themselves that we have still a flourishing and beneficial Commerce; but considerate and knowing Men, who look into the Bottom of Things, plainly perceive the Canker, that is in every Branch, and, will inevitably eat out and destroy it. — Dr. *Davenant* observes, "That a Country may have all the outward Marks of Wealth, and yet its Condition be unsound at Bottom. A Nation may have great *Fleets*, and *Armies*, and the Appearance of a great foreign Traffick; the *Buildings* may be magnificent, *private Persons* may accumulate much Wealth, and the Way of Living of many appear sumptuous; and yet Poverty may be all the while secretly creeping upon such a Country."

Again — "The Symptoms of a *Bankrupt Nation* are easily discern'd, and of a whole People collectively consider'd growing poor, by living above their Circumstances. That a few will gather to themselves great Fortunes; but the Number of such as grow poor, will be far more considerable; and that there will be here and there Marks of Splendor among the better Sort; but there shall be an universal Face of Poverty upon the common People."

"The *Trade* of a Nation, says Mr. *Ger*, is of mighty Consequence. A Nation may gain vast Riches by *Trade* and *Commerce*, or for Want of due Attention may be drain'd of them. I am more willing to mention this, because I am afraid the present Circumstances of ours carry out more Riches than they bring home. As there is Cause to apprehend this, surely it ought to be look'd into; and the more, since if there be a Wound, there are Remedies, which, if rightly applied, will make our *Commerce* flourish, and the Nation happy."

CHARLES FREEPORT.

Common Sense, Oct. 14. N^o 89.

The Power of MUSIC.

MUSIC was held in great Esteem among the Antients, particularly the *Greeks*, who looked upon it as a necessary Part of the Education of their Youth, and thought the due Regulation of it worthy the Care of their Laws. This is not to be wondered at, considering the astonishing Effects,

which the best Historians assure us Music had in those Days.

The *Pyrrhic Tune*, as is well known, had such a martial Influence, that, in a very little Time, it set the Audience a fighting, whether they would or not. This *Tune*, by the Way, must have infinitely exceeded our best modern *Marches*, which, by what I have been able to observe in *Hyde-Park*, rather sets our Army a dancing, than a fighting.

The *Phrygian Music* inclined as much to Love; and *Quintilian* tells us, that *Pythagoras*, having observ'd a young Man so inflamed by this *Phrygian Modulation*, that he was going to offer Violence to a Lady of Condition, immediately order'd the Instruments to play in a graver Measure, called the *Spondee*, which instantly check'd the Gallant's Desires, and saved the Lady's Chastity.

Dion Chrysostomus informs us, that the Musician *Timotheus*, playing one Day upon the Flute before *Alexander the Great*, in the Movement call'd *Ortios*, that Prince immediately laid hold of his great Sword, and was with Difficulty hindered from doing Mischief. And Mr. *Dryden*, in his celebrated Ode upon St. *Cecilia's Day*, represents that Hero, alternately affected, in the highest Degree, by tender or martial Sounds, now languishing in the Arms of his Courtesan, *Tibais*, and anon furious, snatching a *Flambeau*, and setting Fire to the Town of *Persepolis*. (See the Ode, Vol. V. p. 95.)

I am apt to believe, that in Music, as in many other Arts and Sciences, we fall infinitely short of the Antients: For, I take it for granted, that we should be open to the same Impressions, if our Composers had but the Skill to make them. However, tho' Music does not now cause those surprising Effects, which it did formerly, it still retains Power enough over Mens Passions, to make it worth our Care: And I have heard some Persons, equally skill'd in Music and Politics, assert, that King *James* was sung and fiddled out of this Kingdom, by the Protestant Tune of *Lillybullero*; and that Somebody else would have been fiddled into it again, if a certain treasonable, *Papish*, *Jacobite Tune* had not been timely silenced by the unwearied Pains and Diligence of the Administration.

Having thus shewn the Power and Effects of Music, both among the Antients and the Moderns, and the good and ill Uses which may be made of it, I shall submit it to Persons wiser than myself, what is to be done in this important Crisis, [viz. the Cessation of Operas.] I look upon Operas to have been the great National Establishment of Music, and I am persuaded that innumerable Sets will rise from their Ruins, and break into various Conventicles of Vocal and Instrumental, which, if not attended to, may prove of ill

ill Consequence. But in this, as in every Thing else, I put my Trust in the Wisdom of the Ministers, who daily shew, that nothing is above their Skill, or below their Care.—Kingdoms and Gin-Sellers tremble at their Fleets, and their Informers—Terrible abroad, and lovely at home, they put me always in Mind of that beautiful Description, which *Tasso* gives of one of his Heroes:

*Se'l vedi solminar, fra L'Arme, avvolto
Marte le flimi; amor se scopre il volto.*

If you were to see him, says he, glittering in his Armour, and in all the Thunder of War, you'd take him for *Mars*, the God of it; but when that's over, and he lays by his Helmet, you'd think him the God of Love.

Craftsman, Oct. 21. N^o 641.

Of introducing Foreign Players.

THE Arguments offer'd for restraining the Freedom of the Stage, by Act of Parliament, were founded upon the Necessity of correcting some Abuses, to which it was made subservient; and these were thought to be Evils of such a Nature, with respect to the whole Society, as to require a Remedy purchased with the Ruin of Thousands, and with the Sacrifice of at least one Branch of Liberty; but, admitting the Prudence, Justice, and Moderation of this Measure, it will necessarily follow, that to license any one Set of Men, from whom more universal and pernicious Consequences may be apprehended, is acting contrary to the Reason of the Thing, and to the Sense of the Legislature declared upon it.

If to this Consideration we join another, that those, who are indulged, are Strangers, and the unhappy Sufferers are Natives of the Land; it will appear, that while the End and Purposes of the Law are destroy'd, the Severity of the Means are continued and increased; for with what additional Pain of Mind must a starving Englishman find his Hands tied up by the Laws of his own Country, from the only Means, which Nature, or Education, have given him of Subsistence; while he sees a foreign Stroller let loose, by the partial Indulgence of his Fellow Subjects, to rise upon his Misfortunes?

Whatever other particular Reasons there might have been for delivering the Stage over to the Mercy of a Lord Chamberlain, there can be but one to justify his Refusal of a Licence to those, who have since applied for it; and that must be an Apprehension that a greater Number than two Play-houses, in this great and populous City, would only serve to corrupt and debauch the Minds of its Inhabitants. I say, this can be the only Reason; because the Power intrusted with him is suffi-

cient to keep those, over whom it may be exercised, within whatever Bounds he may be pleased to prescribe to them; for it cannot be imagined, that with the precarious Tenure of a Commission, during Pleasure, they will venture to depart from the implicit Obedience exacted by their Superiors; or refuse to hold their Theatrical Titles, Places, and Preferments, upon the same Terms, to which the puissant, the right honourable, and the right reverend have condescended to submit, of whom these are but low and faint Imitators.

Must we then conclude, that it is thought French Poets and Comedians are more proper than our own, to reform an English Audience? I should be sorry this were true in Fact; because, if it were, another Fact would be as true; that we are sunk into a lower Degree of Depravity and Corruption, than even our enslaved Neighbours; for I believe it will universally hold good, that the Manners of a People may be known by their Theatrical Performances; as well because the last are Imitations of the first; as because Poets and Actors, who live by their Success, will exhibit nothing to the Publick, that is not agreeable to its Taste and Inclination. But, thank God, the Case is yet otherwise. English Sense and Wit are hitherto free from Prostitution; and an English Audience hath shewn, that we are not to be driven, even by military Force, to applaud French Mummery, and turn our Eyes from the glorious Deeds of our Henrys and our Edwards, to the Tricks of Harlequin, and his beggarly Train.

We are fewer in Number than our potent Neighbours, and have hitherto been preserved from them, by the superior Virtue of our People. The present Situation of Affairs renders their Power more formidable than ever; and of Consequence their Designs to be more apprehended. If we change our Manners for theirs, we lose our only effectual Barrier, and we must be over-power'd by their Numbers. Imitation is natural to Mankind; and, of all Species of Men, most natural to Youth and to the Multitude; but more especially in those Things, which thro' the Senses entertain Fancy and Imagination. This natural Tendency appears very strongly in the Behaviour of our young Men, who have travell'd into France; and who, without perhaps one Exception, endeavour to imitate, here, what they have admired in that gayer Climate. By these Means, the Race of Country Gentlemen is almost quite extinct; from which happy Change, tho' the Instruments of Dress, Feasting, and Equipage flourish, and grow opulent; yet the exhausted Country becomes desolate and poor. The Multitude have been hitherto secured from this contagious Imitation, by an happy Impossibility of going to see the Originals. Must we therefore, by a notable Contrivance, obviate this

this Difficulty, and bring *France* home to them? Or, will the Incitements to *Vice* and *Luxury*, which have already destroy'd many noble *Families*, prove less pernicious to the lower Rank of *People*, who have no Estates but their *Time* and *Labour*, and no Riches but the *Industry* proceeding from them?

There was a Time, when the Love of *Old England* was the great Characteristick of every *Englishman*; and we were fear'd by others, in Proportion as we loved ourselves. With the *Roman Spirit* of *Patriotism* and *Freedom*, we contracted a like Hatred and Contempt for other *Nations*. The Excess was, perhaps, unjustifiable, and ought to be corrected, if it could be done without restraining the glorious Cause; but surely it was not such an Evil as deserved to be remedied by the contrary *Extreme*. If our Ancestors acted ill, in imposing *Incapacities* on *Strangers*, from which they themselves were freed, should we now so totally invert their Policy, as to give *Privileges* and *Immunities* to *Strangers*, that are deny'd to *Englishmen*?

Common Sense, Oct. 21. N^o 90.

Of the late Treatment the French Players met with.

IT is an Observation made by some Author, That Liberty and Riches make *People* rough and insolent; and that Poverty and Oppression render them civil and polite. Poverty and Oppression will certainly render them submissive; which, with *People* who do not distinguish, may pass for Politeness. But, agreeing to the Whole of this Maxim, I find, according to the most exact Calculation, that about 20,000 Horse, Foot and Dragoons, an Army of Excise-men of near double that Number, with 50,000 Informers, will go near-hand to civilize a Nation, to the highest Degree of Politeness, which may consist of 8 or 9,000,000 of *People*.

I am credibly inform'd, that it was from long Contemplation on this Maxim, that a certain Projector became inspired with the Excise-Scheme. It is now many Years since he has been meditating a Resolution to leave nothing untried, which might tend to civilize his Countrymen; while he, good Man! was humbly content to be himself the most unmannerly Fellow in the Kingdom.

It is true, he miscarried in that pious Design, by the perverse Opposition of a *People*, not always attentive to their own Good; but their Ingratitude has not destroy'd his honest Intentions. He is awake when others sleep, and studies Night and Day to the same pious End. In little, as well as great Things, the Good of his dear Country is uppermost in his Thoughts: Even the subjecting of Plays and Players to the Power of a Ch—n was ow-

ing to the same laudable Intention of reforming our Manners.

But here, by the Way, I can't forbear lamenting the Misfortune it is sometimes to please the Public. There was a Poet, whose little Pieces became the Delight of the Town, and gave Bread to a Company of Comedians at the little Theatre in the Hay-Market: But Wit and Satire, as he himself observed, are like some Medicines, which will not operate upon sound Constitutions, but when they meet with a rotten Carcase, they play the Devil; and our Projector happening to have a great many sore Places about him, our Poet's Pills, gave him the Gripes. To make short of my Tale; it was decreed they must fall. Our Projector, whose frank Heart was ever a Stranger to Malice, resolv'd, since he could not damn the Poet, to ruin him, and send the Players a begging. It is a melancholy Story to tell; but I have been inform'd, that *Alexander* the Great was not long since pressed in a Collier, and, what goes to his Soul, is, that he is forced to serve on board a pacific Fleet: *Julius Cæsar*, who gained 20 Victories over the *Gauls*, is forced to carry a brown Musket for Bread, in an Army which never saw the Face of an Enemy, and never will; while the Queen of *Egypt*, who charmed the Heart of this Heroe, was discover'd among a Band of *Welsh* Peasants making Hay. The Greatest are not above the Strokes of Fortune! It seems, that soon after the Power of sending Kings and Conquerors a begging was vested in the Ch—n, it was resolv'd to bring a foreign Company of Players, and place them upon that Stage from whence our own had been just expelled; and, as a Relation of the Projector had himself play'd the Part of *Harlequin* in foreign Countries, tho' without any Success (for Nature did not form him to please) he was thought the properest Person for this Purpose. Away he goes, the Subject of his Journey being a great Mystery. I shall take no Notice of the Time he employed, nor the Leather he lost in riding Post; but the important Secret breaks out at last, and a Company of outlandish Comedians arrive.

So soon as the Bill appeared for their Playing, with the Word AUTHORITY placed at Top, the Public was stung to the Quick, and thought themselves concerned to exert that Liberty they enjoy, to resent the Affront put upon them. They filled the House, and play'd off all the Artillery of Cat-calls, Bells, &c. against the Stage, and the miserable Comedians suffered for Sins not their own,

Quæque ipse miserrima vidi,
Et quorum pars magna fui

When it was over, I retired to the Tavern with

with some of those whom I saw most active in the Pit, and represented to them, That I was afraid their Behaviour that Night might appear to Strangers to be a little cruel, and barbarous: To which one of them answer'd me, "That the Audience had a legal Right to shew their Dislike to any Play or Actor in the Manner here done; for the common Law of *England* was nothing but common Custom, and the antient Usage of the People; that the Judicature of the Pit had been acknowledg'd from Time immemorial, in Matters relating to the Stage; and tho' they were obliged to give no other Reason than, that they did not approve of these Actors, he would say something more.

It is well known (added he) that the Act for putting the Stage under a Regulation (as the Phrase was) went against the Grain of the Publick; they declared against it, but had not Interest enough to hinder its passing; we looked upon it as a Step towards restraining the Liberty of the Press; we think every Thing, which is the Product of our own Country, should be suffered to pass free, more particularly the Wit and Learning of our own Growth; for we can't help thinking, that we shall see nothing but sad insipid Stuff upon the Stage, while the Ch——n and his Deputies (who, for aught we know, may be his Footmen) have a Power over every Word to be spoke there. However, when the Act pass'd, we submitted, and tho' it was reported, that a Foreign Company of Actors would be sent for, we did not believe it; for we could not suppose that, while the Discontent occasion'd by that Act was fresh in every one's Memory, a Ch——n should grow so wanton with his new Power, as to insult the Publick, in this Manner. As to the Pretence, that they were sent for to divert a foreign Woman who does not understand *English*, she should have engaged them to play at her own House, or rather her Lodgings, and have invited her own Company: It is not to be doubted but she will soon be rich enough to pay them, for we dare say she did not come into this Country to learn the Language. But as they were to take their Fate with the Publick, we were free to receive them as we pleased; and since Mr. Ch——n would not *license* our Actors, we would not *license* his."

I could not deny but there was some Reason in this; and I remember, when the Curtain was drawn up, and I beheld Files of Mousquetaers with Bayonets fixed to the Ends of their Pieces, and a dapper *Hugonot* standing up in the Pit, with a Paper in his Hand, as if he was going to declare War against the whole World, it put me in Mind of a Story which is told of our present incomparable Laureat: He took it into his Head once to wish himself King of *France*, and being asked, for what Reason? "Because (says he) "I would publish an *Edict*, That the Play-

ers should act no Plays but my own, and 'that the Publick should be obliged to like 'them.' I don't know what so wise a Man as the Laureat would do if he was King of *France*; but I think I know History enough to assert, that no King of *France*, or any one by his Authority, ever controuled the Judgment of the Publick in Things of this Nature, or pretended to impose upon them what to approve or dislike;—*furi quod sentiat* is a pretty *Motto*, and any insolent Man may put it upon his Coach, whether he understands it or not: But I hope other People, tho' they are not inclined to be his Slaves, may use it as well as he.

I am growing serious upon this Subject, contrary to my Intention; but there is something occurs to me which might have happened that Night, which makes me grave in Spite of my Resolution to be otherwise. I am thinking, if the Fears of that little officious Fellow, who was going to read the Proclamation, had not made him steal off, what might have been the Consequence. Perhaps 100 Gentlemen of Fortune, and every one of as good a Family as any in the Administration, must have incurred the Penalty of Felony, for having only done what, in some Countries, which do not pretend to our Liberties, a Man would not be fined a Crown for: I mean the not dispersing, at the Word of Command, from a Place where they had pay'd their Money. But there is Reason to hope, that this Accident will bring about a signal Good to this Nation, and that it will occasion the Repeal of an Act which, by being abused, may put the Life of every Gentleman in *England*, one Time or other, in the Power of a Minister; for there never will be wanting some low Tool, who, to ingratiate himself with a Minister, and in Hopes to get a Place, will thrust himself into every Assembly of Gentlemen, charged with this Proclamation, if he suspects that either they, or what they meet upon, may be disagreeable to any of those in Power.

As to the poor Comedians, I really pity them. They were encouraged to come from their own Country; and, being unacquainted with our Disputes, could not think they should give Offence: They have, without any Intention on their Side, been made the Instruments of affronting the Town, and been placed upon the Stage to stand the publick Resentment, and been treated like the *Enfans perdus* in the Army. Their Journey must have cost them a great deal of Money; and if those who have drawn them into this Scrape, do not pay them all their Expenses, and give them something besides to comfort them for their Mortification, in being so treated, I shall think it a very great Cruelty; nay, I shall think they treat these poor Players as ill as they have treated the Town.

A HYMN to the CREATOR of the World.

FROM low and abject themes my tow'ring
muse

With just disdain takes wing, and rapid soars
Beyond the giddy scene of earthly joys,
And wide expatiates in the realms of light.
Of beauty, courts, and arms, let others sing,
Be these the subjects of inferior lays;
Whilst I with unaccustom'd warmth aspire
To raise my flight to worlds of endless day,
Singing his praise, who gave me pow'r to sing.

O thou eternal, self-existent Cause,
Source of all beings, fountain of all bliss,
Teach me with awful thoughts to trace thy
ways.

When in the maze of things I blindly tread,
And erring fancy deviates from the truth,
Let thy immortal Dove, propitious Pow'r!
Forth-darting cheerful rays of heavenly light,
Raise me from earth, and aid my daring song.
Uplifted on his wings I soar secure,
Secure I range this habitable world;
And from the visible effects of art,
The stamps and characters of pow'r immense,
Which ev'ry where in all his works occur,
Infer the glory, wisdom, majesty
Invisible of him, whose works they are.

Before the sun began his circling course,
Or time primeval spread his fleeting wings,
From series infinite of ages past
Thou art, to thee all nature owes its being.
At thy all-pow'rful word, this wond'rous
frame,

This pendant globe, and all the starry sphere,
From th' womb of nothing started into birth.
Steer'd by the faithful compass of thy wisdom,
And guided by the just and fixt decrees
Of thy unerring mind, this floating mass,
This fluctuating universal frame,
Invariably pursues its constant course.

The joyful sun, from morn till dusky noon,
Gleeds the whole face of nature with his beams;
At night the twinkling stars, and forked moon
With borrow'd light supplies his absent rays,
Till morn again returns, and with it brings
The sun, rejoic'd to run his usual race.
Glad as a bridegroom, as a giant strong,
He thro' the liquid æther cuts his way,
And shapes from east to west his steady
course:

With equal pace he wings it thro' the air,
And knows his time to rise, his time to set;
Nor has, since birth of time, or sooner rose,
Or hasten'd sooner to a quick decline.

And whence, ye sons of *Epicurus*, whence,
Ye favourers of chance, can this proceed?
What gives this globe of light such rapid force,
And hurls so swiftly round the earth, the sun?
Could chance first give it motion; or cou'd
chance

Direct that motion to its proper end?
Or if, as moderns seem inclin'd to think,

The sun's at rest, whilst this unwieldy earth
Performs its annual and diurnal course,
Th' unanswer'd difficulty still returns.
What whirls this massy orb so swift in air?
What potent arm conducts this pond'rous
globe,

And bandies to and fro the mighty ball?
Can the blind hand of undesigning chance
Perform such wonders? or is't not the will,
The hand, the pow'r of an eternal God?

O Lord, how great, how various are thy
works! [deeds?

What wisdom shines thro' all thy wond'rous
The whole creation speaks aloud thy praise;
Even the minutest labour of thy hands,
The smallest atom in the vast expanse,
Excites our wonder, and proclaims thy fame,
In all the glorious orbs which deck the skies,
The sun, the moon, and all the globes of
light,

We read the work of an eternal mind.
Nor does this massy earth, this pond'rous frame,
Shew fewer tokens of a pow'r divine,
Nor less redound to its great Maker's praise.
And, first, its situation well regard,
And tell me where, thro' all the wide expanse,
Ye sons of *Epicurus*, cou'd ye chuse
A fitter place for the terrestrial globe?
Suppose 'twas nearer to the solar orb;
How shou'd we then his scorching rays endure?
His radiant beams wou'd make a barren land,
Exhale the lake, and parch the sandy plain.
Or if you chuse a far remoter seat,
Still reason wou'd you find to curse the change.
For then you'd feel no mild refreshing gales;
No odoriferous exhalations then
Wou'd fan the air; but frost, eternal frost,
Wou'd glaze the floods with ice, and crust the
earth with snow.

Thus both extremes wou'd lay all nature waste,
Parch us with heat, or stiffen us with cold.
But now we feel the sun's indulgent beams,
Nor dread the sad effects of parching heat.
Now summer's warmth, and winter's chilling
cold,

In one continued round alternately succeed.
By which successive reign of heat and cold,
What numberless advantages accrue
To human kind? to this we owe the change,
The needful change of seasons; and by this
The parent earth its fruitfulness maintains.
For shou'd cold winter all its stores display,
Fetter the floods, and shake the air with storms;
How wou'd the farmer with a fruitless toil
Harrow the frost-bound earth? the stiffen'd
glebe

Wou'd ever mock his vain delusive hopes;
Nor wou'd the meads their wonted verdure
boast.

But now the sun's refreshing beams succeed,
Unbind the frozen earth, and looth the soil:
Now meads in vernal beauty shine; now trees
Their leafy honours boast; now ripen'd fields
With yellow treasures crown the farmer's toil.

How glorious are thy works, Almighty King!
Heaven and earth proclaim aloud thy praise!
In thee all creatures live and move, in thee
They have their being; thy wisdom shines in
all:

But man, thy creature man, displays it most.
How wond'rous is he form'd! what order
reigns, [frame?

What nice proportion shines through all his
How are his various parts, (for various ends
And purposes design'd) so justly wrought,
So nicely by their proper cement join'd,
That ev'ry part may serve the end propos'd!
O thou, eternal God, from whom I sprang,
Who mad'st my blood to flow, my heart to
beat, [flame,
And fill'dst my branching veins with vital
Do thou inspire my soul with grateful thoughts;
To thee for ever let me raise my voice,
And sing to all eternity the praise
Of thee, my God, my Father, and my King.

EUGENIO.

To the Right Honourable the Earl of Orrery,
on his Marriage with Miss Hamilton; and
their Arrival at Marston-House, Somerset-
shire. (See p. 361.)

YE powers of harmony, assist the song,
Sacred to you connubial joys belong.
Love's generous passion, and the muses flame,
Cement divine! compose the godlike frame;
As nature's self immortal is the tie,
They spring together, and together die.

Thus you, my lord! who long have sat
sublime

The muses guest, on Pindus' flow'ry clime,
Whose brow poetick wreaths have long em-
brac'd,

Are now afresh with nuptial garlands grac'd.
No spoils fantastick from the Paphian grove,
But chaste, and fadeless greens of virtuous
love.

No flame impure with wild despotick sway,
Kindled your bosom with unhallow'd ray.
Unbridled passions, like a blaze of fire,
Soon vent their fury, and in smoke expire.
But calm, and constant as a vestal light,
Love fix'd on friendship, burns for ever bright.

Happy the peer to win so fair a bride!
Happy the nymph to such a peer ally'd!
Sure there's a secret sympathy in souls,
Strong as the fam'd attraction of the poles,
Which leads the lovers with magnetick force,
Governs the passions, and directs their course;
Thro' life's dim curtain sheds the silent ray,
And to the destin'd union points the way.
She must be all that fancy can require,
To reign the object of a Boyle's desire;
All charms, all love, must in her bosom dwell,
To conquer him who knew all charms so well.

See from Hibernia's shore th' illustrious pair,
Divide the billows, conscious of their care,

See, round the ship cerulean Tritons play,
And tutelary Nereids smooth the way;
While Amphitrite keeps her coral court,
And on the surface bounding dolphins sport.
The muses too, convoy their charge along,
With hov'ring wings, and Hymenæal song.
With you, my lord, th' harmonious choir
withdrew, [see.

And still from clime to clime, your steps pur-
While some with proud retinues sweep the
plain,

Pierian guardians mingle in your train,
Still the divine companions of your flight;
On Israel waited thus the trav'ling light.

Welcome blest pair! to your triumphant
seat, [trear;

Which silent long had mourn'd her lord's re-
Whose lonely walks in deeper shadows clad,
And towers forlorn, look'd desolate and sad.
Long had the tuneful swains their lyres forgot,
And pensive Pan long slumber'd in his grot;
Long had immortal tomes unheeded slept,
And dewy walls in tears his absence wept:
But now each scene a cheerful face assumes,
The fields rejoice, and all creation blooms;
Safe in your arms a paradise you bring,
She glads the meads, and when she smiles,
'tis spring;

Again the sickly flowers begin to rise,
And spread new fragrance in autumnal skies.
Long may her presence cheer the happy grove,
And long diffuse the pledges of your love;
While other Boyles, if right the muse presage,
Transmit the blessing to the latest age.

From, Oct. 5, 1738.

S. Bowden.

VENUS and ADONIS. A Cantata, in-
scrib'd to Mr. P. F. by the Author of RO-
SALINDA, a Pastoral. (See Vol. V. p. 632)

RECITATIVE.

THE rosy morn was just renew'd,
When sweet Adonis (beauty's pride)
With hounds and horn the stag pursu'd;
The hills, the vales, the forest wide,
The woods with harmony resound.

All nature smiles around the plains,
The warbling choir in concert sing,
The sylvan nymphs, and jocund swains,
With cheerful voice, salute the spring,
Whilst thus Adonis sings around.

AIR.

What scenes of transport appear,
What pleasure the plains around,
The jovial cries ye hear,
The woodlands echo the sound.

The bounding stag's in our view,
The chase such rapture does yield,
O'er hills and brakes we'll pursue,
What sportsman would quit the field?

Da capo

RECITATIVE.

Venus, who view'd the youth from far,
With glowing cheeks confess her joy,

In radiant charms, did soon appear,
And thus address'd the lovely boy.

A I R.

Turn, ah turn, ingrateful rover,
Ease, ah ease, an am'rous pain,
Can you then no charms discover,
In the fair who sues in vain?
Here are sweets that will delight thee,
Lovely youth, oh! come away,
Here enchanting scenes invite thee,
Why, *Adonis*, dost thou stay? *Da capo.*
T. S.

EPIGRAM.

WHEN paint and patches mixt on
Celia's face,
Reflect a glorious lustre in the glass,
All eyes behold, and all alike admire,
All hearts are melted with a warm desire:
But when her wrinkl'd face alone we view,
I vow 'tis e'en eno' to make one sp—e.

A N O T H E R.

AN amorous wag once sought the bliss,
To steal a soft and balmy kiss;
When *Sylvia* stamp'd (and some say, swore)
That he shou'd gain the prize no more:
He smil'd, and said, If 'tis such pain,
Pray, miss, return it back again. A.

ANACREON. ODE XXIX. Attempted.

D R I N K I N G.

WHEN I drain th' oblivious bowl,
Pleasures wing my raptur'd soul.
My tongue, which love, and wine inspire,
By turns relieves the silver lyre.

When *Bacchus* fires me with delight,
Grief shakes her sable wings for flight;
And wrinkling cares then wing their way
To winds, that tempest all the sea.
Be it fair abroad, or foul,
All is fair within my soul.

When I swill the rosy show'r,
Life exerts her ev'ry pow'r.
Bacchus, full of mirthful play,
Ever smiling, ever gay,
His round, plump, cheerful face does shine
Rosy bright with rosy wine.
To the blissful bow'r I fly
With the fair to crown my joy.

When the nectar streams I taste,
With rosy wreaths my temples grac'd,
Smiling gay my soul serene,
Of life I sing the various scene.

When in wine I drown my woes,
Balmy fragrance round me flows;
While to my breast the fair does cling,
Of beauty, and of love I sing.

When the wreath'd, rosy bowl I drain,
Pleasures dart thro' ev'ry vein;
My free soul at large expands,
In dance I join the choral bands.

The XLth ODE of ANACREON. At-
tempted by the same Hand.

G O L D.

UNEASY we to feel the dart!
Uneasy not to feel the smart!
Uneasy most to feel the pain
Of love, when not belov'd again!

Love, birth and empty honour scorns;
Love, beauty, wit, and science spurns;
'Tis gold alone the fair one warms;
'Tis gold alone the fancy charms;
'Tis gold that all their graces share;
'Tis gold engrosses all the fair!

All plagues in one, oh! may he prove,
Despairing, sigh his last in love;
Burn on, unpitied, to the end,
With none his passion to befriend,
Who first made gold the cursed pledge
In love, to sunder hearts the wedge.

Gold! that seeds of strife does sow,
Which 'mong friends, and kindred grow!
Gold! that causes endless jars!
Gold! that fires immortal wars!
Gold! that deforms th' embattel'd plain
With seas of blood, and hills of slain;
And (what's more fatal to behold)
Victims we lovers fall to gold!

To Mr. Auditor Benson, upon his erecting
a Monument for Milton, in Westminster-
Abbey. (See p. 203.)

YOU, who to Milton's name this altar raise,
Will share his glory and divide our praise;
Whilst for the past neglect your pains atone,
His deathless memory you make your own:
As often as this sacred ground we tread, [read;
And view the man whose heav'nly song we
To you so oft our grateful thanks return,
Who join the poet's to the monarch's urn;
Nor are the marbles of this awful place [says.
More honour'd by their crowns, than by his
Hail, *Britans*, hail the gen'rous care that
paid

The tribute which too long had been delay'd:
One virtue has the debt discharg'd, and shewn
By paying it so well, how great 'twas grown:
Who knew the labour best, cou'd best design,
What honours shou'd reward the work divine;
The beauteous symbol to invent, and give,
Merits with Milton's lasting name to live.

False patrons, who but ill their praise deserv'd,
Dead poets flatter, whom they living starv'd:
The monuments of some record their crimes,
And others plead no merit but their rhimes;
Merit that scarce has life enough to last,
Till in its niche the slighted table's plac'd.
Your bounty, *Benson*, with a nobler aim
To our applause asserts a juster claim:
You set the best example here in view,
And mark the path the poet shou'd pursue.

Z z z

Sound

Sound judgment, and the nicest taste appear,
Alike in what you read, and what you rear;
The fancy fine! a master's hand the frame!
And art and nature have no greater name.

Beneath their feet the venerable stone,
Time was, when furious bigots wou'd have
thrown;

Not so this age; in this, the realm as free,
As ever wish'd the patriot bard, we see;
And rest, and science, and the shining train
Of arts, declare a *British* father's reign *.

Go on, thou friend to virtue, and man-
kind;

Worthy of thee, one task remains behind;
Give to thy *Milton* next, thy *Maro's* tongue,
In *Latin* language clothe the *British* song;
Farther than e'er th' imperial eagle flew,
His fame shall spread, and owe the wing to
you: [fire,

To warm the work with more than borrow'd
Thy auspices the lab'rer shall inspire.

To the Author of COMMON SENSE.

S I R,

LOOKING over a *Paraphrase* on some
select Psalms, by the Rev. Richard Daniel,
Dean of *Armagh*, humbly dedicated to
the King, I among them met with one, intitled,
THE ROYAL PENITENT. The Occasion of this
Psalms of David is too well known to need
any particular Account of it from me: I shall
therefore only observe, in the Words of our
Author, 'That the Thoughts of David are
tender and highly passionate; and carry in
them an Air of that Sorrow and Compunction,
which are necessary to form a just and acceptable
Repentance: The whole *Psalms* is work'd up
with great Piety and Devotion; and above all,
the tender Concern which he expresses for his
People, and for Jerusalem, lest they should
suffer for his Fault, makes the Conclusion
inimitable.' I flatter myself, therefore, that
a few *Extracts* out of such a Poem will not
be unacceptable to your Readers, especially
when they consider the great Name to which
it is inscrib'd.

Yours, POETICUS.

THE ROYAL PENITENT: Or, the
LIST *PSALM* Paraphras'd.

GREAT GOD, with conscious blushes,
lo! I come,
To cry for pardon, or receive my doom.
But oh! I die when I thine anger meet!
Prostrate I lay my body at thy feet.
How can I dare to ask for a reprieve?
Must I still sin, and will my God forgive?
Thy justice cannot let thy mercy flow;
Strike then, oh! strike, and give the deadly
blow!

Do I still live? And do I live to prove
The inexhausted tokens of thy love?
This unexampled goodness wounds me more
Than e'en the wrath I merited before.

Oh! I am all a blot, the foulest shame
Has stain'd my sceptre, and disgrac'd my name:
A name, which once I cou'd with honour boast;
But now—the father of his people's lost!

Tho' darkly thy mysterious prophet spoke;
While from his lips the fatal message brake,
Fix'd and amaz'd I stood, confounded whole;
Too soon his dreadful meaning reach'd my
soul!

Thou art the man—has fix'd a deadly smart;
Thou art the man—lies throbbing at my heart.
I am—whate'er thine anger can express,
Nor can my sorrow make my follies less.
Rais'd and exalted to the first degree,
Thy heav'nly will had made the monarch free.
The fond restraint of man I scorn'd to own,
But grasp'd the full possession of a crown.
Indulg'd in ease, I rul'd without controul,
And, to its utmost wish, enjoy'd my soul.
Vain boast of power! which vanish'd into air,
Since I forgot the Lord, who plac'd me there.
Was it for this thou gav'st the glorious land,
And thy own flock committed to my hand?
Was I, the shepherd, to go first astray,
Till innocence itself became my prey?
Ah no! the fault was mine; I stand alone:
Be thine the praise, who plac'd me on the
throne; [own.]

The guilt, the folly, and the shame my
How vile must I appear, how lost a thing!
The worst of tyrants, and no more a king.
Oh! do not thou my abject state despise,
But let my soul find favour in thine eyes!

Whene'er the horrid deed I backward trace,
My soul rolls inward and forgets her peace:
Waking I dream, and, in the silent night,
A frightful vision stalks before my sight.
The pale Uriah walks his dreadful round,
He shakes his head, and points to every
wound.

Oh foul disgrace to arms! who now will go
To fight my battles, and repel the foe?
Unhurt the coward may to ages stand;
The brave alone can die by my command.
Oh! hold, my brain, to wild distraction
wrought,

I will not, cannot bear the painful thought:
Oh! do not fly me; for thy mercy's sake,
Turn thee, oh! turn, and hear the wretched
speak.

Ev'n self-condemn'd thy kneeling servant save,
And raise a drooping sinner from the grave.
Speak, mighty God! and bid thy servant
live; [give.]

Let my charm'd ears but hear the word—
My joyful muse shall bear the tidings round,
While list'ning worlds shall catch the grateful
sound: [Tha]

Thus other sinners shall obedient prove,
And, taught by me, shall wonder at thy love!
But oh! if stricter justice must be done,
If my relentless fate comes driving on,
I stand the mark, whatever is decreed,
Be *Israel* safe, but let its monarch bleed.
On me, on me, thy utmost vengeance take,
But spare my people for thy mercy's sake.
Oh! let *Jerusalem* to ages stand, [mand:
Build thou her walls, and spread her wide com-
So shall thy name for ever be ador'd,
And future worlds, like me, shall bless the Lord.

To the Lady ERNLE. By Mr. PRICE.

FROM fawning crowds, and noise and
strife,
To rural ease and private life,
You, madam, with the spring remove,
And who can blame what you approve?
Gay as the season of the year,
Does the delightful * place appear;
And art and nature jointly meet,
To make it, as it is, compleat.
Here drawn at length by *Kneller's* hands,
The majesty of *Britain* stands:
In that apartment, dress'd for war,
Terribly shines the fierce *Bawar*.
Aloft, by *Thornbill's* wond'rous skill,
On fabled *Ida's* fruitful hill,
The *Pbrygian* shepherd sits to keep
His dear *OEnone's* harmless sheep.
Imperial *Juno* from above,
And chaste *Minerva*, born of *Jove*,
With wanton beauty's softer queen,
Descend and tread the flow'ry green.
Each wou'd the glitt'ring apple claim;
And unrestrain'd by fear or shame,
Swift to the youth they speed their way,
And ev'ry hidden charm display.
He hears the promises they make;
But soon for love and *Helen's* sake
The golden prize to *Venus* gives,
And in his father's palace lives.
Not long——to *Greece* the hero flies,
And meets the fair with lustful eyes:
She listens to the blooming boy,
And with him seeks his boasted *Troy*.
Here breathing statues graceful stand,
And praise the workman's forming hand:
There taller trees triumphant rise
In beauteous order to the skies,
And spread, with annual verdure crown'd,
Their venerable shades around.
Hither the † chief, whose deathless name
Shall live in verse, and grow in fame,
From publick view in peace retir'd,
Nor popular applause desir'd.
Taught by his righteous sword to yield,
The daring *Spaniard* left the field;
And *Gallie Louis* shook with fear,
When e'er his conqu'ring troops drew near.

* Charborough in Dorsetshire,

But now no more with hostile blood
He drowns the plain, or swells the flood:
Deep in the dust the warrior lies,
For ever lost to mortal eyes!
Watch then the tomb, and o'er it weep,
In which his awful ashes sleep;
And teach your children to admire,
And emulate their martial fire.

Supplication for the Lady ERNLE.
By the same Hand.

LORD of the world! whose pow'r is known
Thro' heav'n and earth, and air and sea,
Look down with pity from thy throne,
And hear the vows we make to thee:
Preserve the dame for whom we mourn,
For whom we shed these tender tears:
Oh! let her wonted strength return,
And with her strength increase her years.
See! prostrate on the couch she lies;
Around the pious poor complain:
For what to her thy hand supplies,
To them she freely gives again.
If therefore she should yield her breath,
How will the pious poor lament?
And still be poorer by the death
Of her, who did their wants prevent?
Spare then her life; 'tis all we ask;
Nor suffer fate to strike her now:
'Twill be for us too hard a task
To live without her here below.

An Epitaph on the late Rev. Dr. THOMAS
SHERRIDAN, in Ireland, Author of the
Art of Punning.

Beneath this marble stone there lies
Poor *Tom*, more merry much than wife;
Who only liv'd, for two great ends,
To spend his cash, and lose his friends.
His darling wife, of him bereft,
Is only griev'd——there's nothing left.

URBAN's Apology to E. W. of Whitney,
with a Remark.

THE parent, says *Syl*, is too fond of his
child, [guil'd,
By his own prepossessions and friends is be-
Like the ape in the fable, exposes his young
As the far greatest beauty, all creatures among;
Till I with the tender regard of a friend,
Lick the brat into form, and its features amend,
Dress up the poor infant in garments, how fine!
And assist the unlearned with learning of mine.
Can *'Lija* forbear to be grateful for this,
Or foolishly take my great kindness amiss?
If so, to the publick I boldly appeal,
And show with what friendship and candour
I deal;
Expose the grim bantling as bald as it came,
And point in *Italicks* where dull, and where
lame;

Then

† The late General Ernle.

Then make to the poets my final excuse,
That all their productions I thus will abuse.
My wit, of the nation the standard shall be,
And nothing pass current till mangl'd by me;
In spite of all censure maintain my pretence,
And scorn to submit to my foe, * *Common Sense*.

REMARK.

Indeed, Mr. Urban, to give you your due,
COMMON-SENSE is a thing quite a stranger
to you.

A HYMN to PROVIDENCE.

ETERNAL wisdom, sov'reign care
Of universal nature, hear!
Accept my humble strains, and grant
Whate'er thou know'st I really want.
Just is the homage, which I pay
To thy supreme, unbounded sway,
That guides, with most amazing skill,
All springs, all motions, good or ill!

Long ere the mighty word was giv'n
To fill the void with earth and heav'n,
Thy piercing eye survey'd the plan,
And swift from atom upward ran;
Saw and approv'd the various laws,
That give to each effect its cause,
Yet still depend on thee, the soul
And wond'rous balance of the whole.

Soon as the glorious fabrick rose,
Thy hand did wisely interpose;
Thy hand up-held what first it made,
And vigour to the whole convey'd;
Directed and controll'd, unseen,
Each movement of the huge machine,
And mark'd with compasses divine,
For ev'ry sphere its proper line.

And now in æther's vast expanse,
Ten thousand moving orbs advance;
Wheels upon wheels unnumber'd turn,
And radiant lights incessant burn:
Each system with a thousand teems,
And like a world the smallest seems;
All perfect in degree and kind,
Alike for wholes and parts design'd.

Thus lifeless matter all around,
By constant laws of order bound,
In solemn state and mystick maze,
Moves, and proclaims its Maker's praise.
The Artist in his work appears,
And humble man adores and fears,
While seraphs, with ecstasick fire,
Burn, sing, and ever rapt admire.

No less thy wisdom is display'd,
Where moral scenes require thy aid:
In nature's drama ev'ry part
Is acted with the nicest art;
Agents, or rational or not,
Conspire to weave the curious plot;
Mind acts on matter, this on that;
Poor mortals little know for what!

Let fools project, and madmen rave,
The wise contrive, and misers save,
The good submit, the crafty cheat;—
No scheme shall ever thine defeat:

Passions and projects all agree,
With various views to work for thee;
All must promote the grand design,
And to one center still incline.

Surprizing parts! stupendous whole!
Wisdom too high for human soul!
To see, thro' all extent of space,
Each diff'ring nature keep its place,
Perform its part, and work its end,
Yet to the whole its tribute send:—
How grand the view! how glorious he,
Who thus can make, and thus can see!

With humblest rev'rence I resign
My judgment and my will to thine;
Give or with-hold, chastize or spare,
Good is thy will, and kind thy care.
Virtue and daily bread I crave,
Not to be wise, or rich, or brave,
Or high, or low:—these I submit
To thee, and pray for what is fit.

To thee, from whom our comforts flow;
To thee, who rulest all below,
And all around, and all above,
In perfect harmony and love;
To thee, for all we are and have;
To thee, who to the last can't save,
Let men and angels join to raise
An everlasting song of praise.

ON CHATSWORTH House.

Qualiter, attonitus, Venetas, novus ad
vena, turres,
Surgentes mediis, navita cernit, aquis;
Sic stupet, aeris spectans de rupibus, busta,
Cui, subito, emergit Devoniana domus.

TO FLAVIA.

HASTE, my Flavia, haste away,
Hither all my joys convey;
Hither come and let us prove
All the virtuous charms of love;
Come and ease my troubled breast,
Give my anguish'd bosom rest;
Come and sing some pleasing song,
Warbling o'er thy charming tongue;
For, as mighty bards declare,
Songs of love will soften care.

On the French Actors opening (and at the
same Time shutting up) with the Play, enti-
tled, L'Embaras des Richesses; or, The
Trouble which Riches bring along with them.

Zealous for Britain, and to teach it sense,
The Gallie play'ra came o'er—not for
the pence;

And as first trials oft give projects health,
Wisely they open'd with the plague of wealth.
The grateful Britons, conscious what they ow'd
For unsought favours with such grace bestow'd;
To prove they lik'd the donor's wholesome love,
Return'd them, cashless, to their native shore.

The Enigma from Oxford, a Thanksgiving
for Affliction, &c. came too late for this
Month. We desire to be excus'd for not insert-
ing what Eugenio mentions.

* See Common-Sense's Character of the Gentleman's Mag. p. 37.

Monthly Chronologer.

TUESDAY, Oct. 3.



FROM Dublin, That the Lord Howth has lately discover'd a fine Marble Quarry on his Estate at the Hill of Howth: The said Marble is as finely variegated with red, green, blue, yellow, and other Colours, as any in Italy or Egypt.

MONDAY, 9.

This Night, at the New Theatre in the Hay-Market, was attempted to be play'd, by the French Company lately arrived, the Comedy of *L'Embarras des Richesses*; but notwithstanding the Rhetorick of a noted Middlesex Justice, or the Menaces of 3 Files of Musketeers, who were planted upon the Stage, completely arm'd, the Audience were so polite, and so much English, that they would not permit them to go on with the Play: Which shews the true Spirit of the English Nation, in discouraging a French Set of Vagabonds, who attempt to play contrary to an Act of Parliament. The Noise in the House began between 4 and 5; the Cry on one Side the Galleries was, *No Soupe Maigre*, and the other Side answer'd in a different Tone, *Beef and Pudding*; and the general Cry was, *Pray remember the poor English Players in Gaol; no French Strollers.* The French Ambassador was in the Box, but went out as soon as the Noise began. There was at the same Time a great Mob, who play'd their Parts without Doors, breaking the Windows, and throwing Potatoes, Pippings and Dirt in Abundance. (See p. 507.)

THURSDAY, 12.

The Parliament, which stood prorogued to Oct. 13. was order'd to be further prorogued to the 7th of December next.

SATURDAY, 14.

The Sessions ended at the Old Bailey, when 4 receiv'd Sentence of Death, viz. John Matchel, for Horse stealing; Thomas Jones, alias Brown, for stealing a Gold Watch from Mr. Jackson on London-Bridge; John Fosset and William Silvester, for robbing a Company in a Coach in Prince's-Square.

SUNDAY, 15.

Their Royal Highnesses the Prince and Princess of Wales removed from Kew to Clifden, and the next Day set out from thence for Bath; they lay the same Night at Marlborough, and arrived at Bath on Tuesday, amidst the Acclamations of Thousands of People.

MONDAY, 16.

An Express arrived at his Grace the Duke

of Newcastle's Office from Mr. Keene, his Majesty's Minister at the Court of Madrid; who, it was said, brought over the Ratification of the Preliminary Articles of the Convention lately sign'd between Great Britain and Spain; upon which the Stocks rose above 1 per Cent.

WEDNESDAY, 18.

There was a long Hearing before the Right Hon. the Lord Mayor at Guildhall, upon Information against two Jews, for adulterating 800lb. Weight of Snuff; which being plainly prov'd to the Satisfaction of the Court, they were convicted accordingly. The Penalty in such Cases is to have the Snuff burnt, Forfeiture of all the Utensils used in making it, besides 3*l.* for every Pound of Snuff, which amounts to 2400*l.*

SATURDAY, 21.

This Morning his Royal Highness the Prince of Wales, attended by several Persons of Distinction, set out from Bath to make a Visit to the Lord Batburs, at his Seat at Cirencester in Gloucestershire, about 20 Miles from Bath; where he arrived in the Afternoon at Five o'Clock, amidst the loud Acclamations of the People.

WEDNESDAY, 25.

This Afternoon a Fire broke out in a Warehouse at Galley-Key near the Custom-house, which burnt with great Violence for some Hours, during which Time a considerable Quantity of valuable Merchandize was consum'd. As soon as it was discover'd, a Guard was order'd from the Tower, to prevent Rogues from stealing the Goods, &c. The Lord Mayor went also on the first Notice, in order to encourage and animate the Firemen, &c.

The Humble Address of the Mayor, Aldermen, and Citizens of Bath, to the Prince and Princess of Wales, upon their Royal Highnesses Arrival in that City.

May it please your Royal Highnesses,

THE Mayor, Aldermen, and Citizens of this ancient loyal City, proud of the Honour of being admitted to the Presence of your Royal Highnesses, beg Leave to congratulate your safe Arrival.

It is an Honour, which we cannot truly estimate, without considering the Lustre, which the highest Stations derive from the Virtues and Accomplishments of those who still adorn them. A Lustre arising, in a great measure, from the Advantages of Nature, Birth, and Education. But we dare not attempt to describe it in this Presence, the most

most highly Meritorious not caring to be told of those distinguishing Excellencies, which finish and compleat their Characters.

It has been the peculiar Care of his Majesty, to protect his Subjects in all their Religious and Civil Rights.

The like Paternal Care, in a lineal Succession from him, we have the greatest Reason to believe will be extended to future Ages, which like the present, will gratefully and gladly pay their Duty and Allegiance to the Crown.

But we have an immediate Favour to ask from the Goodness of your Royal Highnesses, which is to pardon this Intrusion, and to permit us to add our most sincere Desires for the Honour, Happiness, and Prosperity of his Majesty and your Royal Highnesses, the Infant Prince and Princess, and the whole Royal Family.

His Royal Highness's Answer.

Gentlemen,

I take this Mark of your Regard to Me and to the Princess, as a fresh Instance of your Duty to his Majesty, and Zeal for the Family. You may be assured of my good Wishes for your Welfare.

MONDAY, 30.

Micajah Perry, Esq; the Lord Mayor Elect, was with the usual Solemnity sworn into that honourable Office at Westminster, for the Year ensuing.

The Anniversary of the King's Birth-Day was celebrated, when his Majesty enter'd into the 56th Year of his Age.

MARRIAGES and BIRTHS.

MR. Joseph Salvadore, to Miss Swaffo. The Ceremony was perform'd by Mr. Nieto, High-Priest of the Portuguese Synagogue.

Joseph Swayne, Esq; to the Lady Jason.

Tbo. Wynne, Esq; to Miss Walters of Stepney.

Noah Neale, Esq; of Stamford, to Miss Leigh.

Mr. Rich. Selater, to Miss Magdalen Limbry.

William Light, Esq; to Miss Sukey Brodripp.

Her Grace the Dutchess of Hamilton and Brandon, brought to Bed of a Daughter.

The Lady of the Right Hon. the Lord Hobart also deliver'd of a Daughter.

DEATHS.

REV. Mr. Ilfield, Minister of Newington Butts.

Stapylton, Esq; Capt. Lieut. in the King's own Royal Reg. of Horse.

Rob. Willmot, Esq; in the Commission of the Peace for Derbyshire.

Col. John Wilmer.

Mr. Walter Terbury, one of the Common-Council Men for Cordwainers Ward.

The Lady of Micajah Perry, Esq; Lord Mayor Elect.

Hon. Holles St. John, Esq; youngest Son of the Lord Viscount St. John of Battersea, and Half-Brother to the Lord Viscount Bolingbroke.

Sir Tbo. Straddling, Bart. at Montpellier in France.

In the 82d Year of his Age, the Rev. Mr. Newcome, who had been Vicar of Hackney upwards of 40 Years.

Mrs. Martha Burchett, a near Relation to the Duke of Chandos.

John Fullerton, Esq; formerly Gov. of the Hudson's Bay Company.

Sir Edmund Bacon, of Gillingham, Bart. Memb. of Parl. for Thetford, Norfolk.

Christopher Whicbroke, Esq; at Hackney.

John Fielding, Esq; a near Relation to Maj. Gen. Fielding.

John Kemp, Esq; Counsellor at Law.

Lady Viscountess Lymington.

Mr. Hart, only Son of Moses Hart, Esq; an eminent Jew Merchant.

Sir George Chudleigh, Bart.

The Lady of Tbo. Coffer, Esq; Memb. of Parl. for Bath.

Hon. Tbo. Van Kepple, Esq; youngest Son to the Earl of Albemarle.

Samuel Golding, Esq; in the Commission of the Peace for the County of Berks.

Rev. Mr. Hargrave, a Minor Canon of the Cathedral Church of York.

To the Author of the LONDON MAGAZINE.

S I R,

THE following is a short Sketch of the Character of the late Henry Holmes, Esq; which, however imperfectly drawn, is, I assure you, just in all its Parts. By giving it a Place in your next Magazine, you'll oblige Numbers of your Readers; particularly,

Your humble Servant,

OCT. 7, 1738.

VECTENIS

ON the 18th of June last, died in an advanced Age at Newport, in the Isle of Wight, Henry Holmes, Esq; formerly Lieutenant Governor of the said Island, and Member of Parliament for the Boroughs of Newtown and Yarmouth. He was a Gentleman of a most amiable Character in every Part and Relation of Life. He was the tenderest of Husbands, the most indulgent Father, and the warmest Friend. He was of a generous, benevolent, and charitable Disposition. He had a noble Sense of Honour, was truly publick-spirited, and endowed with an uncommon Share of the old English Bravery. Almost every thing he said, or did, carried with it such an Air of Dignity, that it commanded the Veneration of every Observer. He was one of those, who was never known to give his Word, nor make any Promise, but with a real Design to perform it. He scorned to do a little mean Action for the Sake of his Interest, and made it a Rule to himself, still to hold fast his Integrity in the worst of Times.

Times. But, to crown his Character, he was truly religious, a firm Friend to the Church of England, and every true Son of it. His Behaviour in his last Moments was every Way correspondent to his past Life. He died with the greatest Composure, and a perfect Resignation to the Divine Will, being supported with the inward Testimony of a good Conscience. He was interred in a very decent Manner at Yarmouth, the Burial-Place of his Family, being attended to his Grave by such of the Gentlemen and Clergy of the Island, as had the Pleasure of his Acquaintance. He married a Daughter of the late Sir Robert Holmes, by whom he has left four Sons, Inheritors of their Father's Virtues, and seven Daughters, Ornaments of their Sex.

Ecclesiastical PREFERMENTS.

MR. N. Tindal, made Chaplain to Greenwich-Hospital, and Mr. Wigmor Chaplain of Gbatbam Ordinary in his Room.

Dr. Tennison collated to a Prebend in the Cathedral Church of Canterbury.

Mr. Edmund Pyle, M. A. and Mr. Forbes, M. A. made Chaplains in Ordinary to his Majesty.

Mr. Clarke, A. M. made a Prebendary and Residentiary of the Cathedral Church of Chichester.

Mr. Park, B. D. made Custos of St. Mary's-Hospital at that Cathedral.

Joseph Butler, L. L. D. promoted to the See of Bristol.

PROMOTIONS Civil and Military.

JOHN Selwyn, Esq; Memb. of Parl. for Gloucester, made a Groom of the Bed-chamber to his Majesty.—George Pembroke, Esq; of St. Albans, appointed Receiver General for the County of Hertford, in the room of his Father, Joshua Pembroke, Esq;—Robert Wellard, Esq; Town Clerk of Dover, sworn in Deputy-Governor of Dover-Castle.

Persons declar'd BANKRUPTS.

JOHN Protberoe, late of Poole, Sail-Maker.—Christopher Allison, late of Newcastle upon Tyne, Corn-Merchant.—Robert Riddell, of Exchange-Alley, Vintner.—Francis Briffart, of London, Merchant.—John Bahbage, of Hatherly, Devon, Shop-keeper, and Grocer.—David de Montagny, late of Dorset-Court, Merchant.—William Lurcock, late of Stamford, Vintner.—Joseph Teates, late of St. Martin in the Fields, Taylor.—Nathaniel Heald, late of Leeds, Merchant.—Arthur Powis, late of Blackwall, Shipwright, and Victualler.—Samuel Lee, of Ottery St. Mary, Devon, Vintner.—John Johnson, of Ashford, Kent, Barber.—John Seale, of Islington, Shoe-Maker.—William Beadon, late of Taunton, Chapman.—John Lea, of Friday-street, Grocer.—Daniel Israel, of Wapping, Mariner and Merchant.—Thomas Massey, the Elder, of Aldersgate-street, Tobacconist.—Edward Webb, of Castle-Alley, Victualler and Cook.—Thomas Randall the Younger, of Brook's Wharf, Wharfinger and Factor.

Pries of Stocks, &c. towards the End of the Month.

S T O C K S.

S. Sea 103 $\frac{1}{8}$ a $\frac{1}{4}$	Afric. 14
—Bonds 2l. 10s.	Royal Aff. 107 $\frac{1}{2}$
—Annu. 111	Lon. ditto 14
Bank 142 $\frac{1}{2}$	3 per C. An. 105 $\frac{1}{4}$ a $\frac{1}{2}$
—Circ. 1l. 5s.	Eng. Copper none
Mil. Bank 120	Salt Tallies $\frac{1}{2}$ a 2 $\frac{1}{2}$
India 173 a 172 $\frac{1}{2}$	Emp. Loan 111 a $\frac{1}{4}$
—Bonds 6l. 14s. a 16s.	Equiv. 111

The Course of EXCHANGE.

Amst. 35 4	Bilboa 39 $\frac{1}{2}$
D. Sights 35 1 $\frac{1}{2}$ a 2	Legborn 49 $\frac{1}{4}$
Rotter. 35 6 2 $\frac{1}{2}$ a 2	Genoa 52 $\frac{3}{4}$
Hamb. 34 1	Venice 50 $\frac{1}{2}$ a $\frac{5}{8}$
P. Sights 31 $\frac{1}{2}$	Lisb. 5s 5d $\frac{7}{8}$
Bourdx. 31 $\frac{1}{2}$	Oport. 5s 5d $\frac{3}{8}$
Cadix 40 $\frac{1}{8}$ a $\frac{1}{4}$	Antw. 36 1
Madrid 39 $\frac{1}{8}$	Dublin 8

Prices of Goods at Bear-Key.

Wheat 27 28	Oates 11 13
Rye 12 17	Tares 20 21
Barley 12 16	Pease 18 28
H. Beans 20 25	H. Pease 16 17
P. Malt 19 25	B. Malt 18 19

Abstract of the London WEEKLY BILL, from Sept. 26. to Oct. 24.

Christned	Males 635	Females 628	1263
Buried	Males 917	Females 1021	1938
Died under 2 Years old			808
Between 2 and 5			204
5		10	66
10		20	64
20		30	109
30		40	156
40		50	164
50		60	134
60		70	116
70		80	69
80		90	36
90 and upwards			12

1938

Hay 36 to 42s. a Load.

4 A

ON

ON the 27th of *August* the Imperial Army entered into the Lines that were cast up round the City of *Belgrade* in the Year 1717; but upon the Approach of a numerous Detachment from the *Turkish* Army, it was thought proper to draw all the Imperial Infantry into that City, and to send the Cavalry over the River *Saave*. Hardly had the latter begun their March, when they perceived a great Body of *Turkish* Horse advancing to attack them; upon which that Part of the Imperial Cavalry, that had not passed the River, faced about, and drew up in order to receive the Enemy. The *Turks* attack'd them with great Fury four several Times; but were always repulsed with great Loss; and being in some Confusion after the last Repulse, the *Germans* took hold of the Opportunity, and charged in their Turn with so much Bravery, that they entirely broke and made the *Turks* fly with Precipitation; after which they passed the *Saave* without any farther Interruption from the Enemy. The Imperial Infantry being retired within the Fortifications of *Belgrade*, several thousands of *Turkish* Troops came to take Possession of the Lines about that City, which the Imperialists had quitted; but a strong Detachment of the Garrison being sent out, they attacked the *Turks* with so much Vigour, that they made them retire from the Lines in Confusion. This Attack upon the Lines, however, made it believed, that the *Turks* had formed a Design to besiege or block up *Belgrade*; and a Detachment of about 20000 of them having before marched into the Bannat of *Temeswar*, it was thought they had likewise formed a Design to block up *Temeswar* at the same Time; but those Apprehensions are all now vanished, the Prime *Vizir* with his whole Army having soon after retired to *Nissa*; so that the Campaign on that Side seems to be over, and the *Germans* are preparing to march into Winter-Quarters.

On the 6th Instant, the Dutchess of *Tuscany*, eldest Daughter to his Imperial Majesty, and, by the Pragmatick Sanction, sole apparent Heiress of all the *Austrian* Dominions, was safely delivered of a Daughter, who was baptized the same Day, and named *Antonetta-Mariana-Josepha*.

Since our last we hear, that the unfortunate Col. *Cornberg*, who was Governor of *Orsova*, when taken by the *Turks*, did not make his Escape, as was reported; but that he was kept under a very strict Guard, and is since dead. The Colonel alledged in his Justification, that it was the late Engineer General *de Bauffe* that prevailed upon him to surrender, by assuring him the Fortifications were in such a Condition, that the Place could not withstand a general Assault, which the *Turkish* Army that besieged it was making great Preparations for. It seems, *de Bauffe*

left a Writing behind him justifying the Advice he gave; but as there were several Officers in the Garrison who were for standing the Assault, and therefore against surrendering, they have likewise drawn up their Reasons, and it is probable they will be thought the most cogent, especially as the *Danube* swelled so much in two Days after the Place surrendered, that it would have been impossible for the *Turks* to assault it with any Hopes of Success. This unfortunate Gentleman's Fate, shews how necessary it is for every Officer to study Fortification; and considering how much Time such Gentlemen have upon their Hands, 'tis surprizing, that any of them should be ignorant of a Science so necessary for those of their Trade.

Count *Munich*, the *Russian* General, finding it extremely hazardous to attempt passing the *Niefter* near *Bender*, because of the many Works and Fortifications the *Turks* had thrown up on the other Side of that River, and as hazardous to march towards *Checznia*, because of the Plague raging in that Country, retired with the Army under his Command, about the End of *August* last, and is marched back to the *Ukraine*, in order to put his Army into Winter-Quarters. Soon after he retired, a Part of his Army was attacked by a great Body of *Tartars*; but they met with the usual Reception, of being repulsed with great Slaughter.

Count *Lacy*, the other *Russian* General, is likewise retired from the *Crim*, with the Army under his Command, after having first blown up the Fortifications of *Or*, and demolished the Lines of *Precep*; and is marching towards the *Ukraine*, in order to put that Army likewise into Winter-Quarters; so that considering how Matters stood at the Beginning of the Campaign, the *Turks* may be said to have made a very good Campaign of it; for they have got upon the Side of *Hungary*, and cannot be said to have lost any Thing upon the Side of *Muscovy*; which, it is thought, is entirely owing to the Councils of Count *Bonneval*, who, tho' he does not command, is said to be the chief Director of all the warlike Measures they take.

'Tis thought the *Russian* Army under Count *Lacy*, was obliged to retire sooner than they would otherwise have done, because of the Misfortune that happened to their Fleet under Vice-Admiral *Bredal* in the *Euxine* Sea. There having been a smart Engagement between that Fleet, and the *Turkish* Fleet under the Command of the Captain *Bashaw*; and the *Russian* Admiral finding himself much inferior to the *Turks*, with respect to the Size of their Ships, and being moreover incumbered with a great Number of Transports, which he was obliged to keep under his Convoy, he found it necessary, after the Engagement, to abandon the Sea, and

to retire with the great Prabhmes to *Asoph*: But as to the Transports, finding that he could not tow them up the River, because of the Current, he put them into a Sort of a Creek, and ordered Batteries to be erected on the Sea Shore, to hinder the *Turkish* Fleet from approaching: Tho' this was the best Provision he could at that Time make for the Safety of his Transports, yet the Event shewed it was not sufficient; for as soon as he was retired, the Captain *Bashaw* advanced, in Hopes to make himself Master of the Transports; and finding it was impossible to attack them, without making himself Master of the *Russian* Batteries at Land, he sent a great Number of his Men a-shore, who attacked and defeated the *Russians* that were posted to defend the Batteries; by which Means the *Turks* having got Possession of those Batteries, would soon have become Masters of all the *Russian* Transports; but those on board, upon seeing their Companions driven from their Posts at Land, escaped by the Help of their Oars, with about 70 Ships, after having set Fire to about 40, which they found they could not carry along with them. The *Turks* having thus made themselves entirely Masters of the *Euxine* Sea, it was impossible for the *Russians* to convey any Provisions or Ammunition to their Army in the *Crim*; which we may suppose was the Reason of that Army's retiring so soon; and for the same Reason, we may conclude, that it will always be impossible for the *Russians* to subdue the *Crim Tartary*, till they have got a Fleet upon the *Euxine* Sea, superior to any the *Port* can send against them; which they may soon do, if they keep *Azoff* and *Oczakow*; and when this happens, the City of *Constantinople* itself will begin to be in continual Danger.

Besides the heavy War, which the *Turks* have at present upon their Hands against the *Germans* and *Muscovites*, they have an intestine War in *Asia*, which, if neglected a while longer, may grow formidable. A young Fellow, named *Sary Bey-Oglou*, not now above 28 Years of Age, began an Insurrection in *Natolia* some few Years since. At first he had with him but about 60 or 80 Men, and supported himself chiefly by plundering the Caravans and open Country; but he has now subjected a large District of that Country to his Obedience, has got Possession of several strong Places, and is at the Head of 7 or 8000 Men, all resolute enterprising Fellows, and well armed and disciplined; so that even the rich trading City of *Smyrna* is in some Danger of falling into his Hands, and is already in great Distress, by the Interruption these Rebels give to their Trade, and to the Caravans that used to bring Provisions and Merchandise to that City.

We have frequent Accounts of terrible Massacres and Devastations in the Empire of

Morocco, where there are now no less than six Competitors for the Crown, each of which prospers in Proportion to the Sums of Money he has to bestow; for as the People of that Country are governed by no Principle but that of Self-Interest, they often change Sides, according to the Market they find they can make, and always desert their old Master, as soon as they find they can get a better Price from another; which shews how dangerous and wicked it is to introduce a corrupt and mercenary Spirit among the People of any Country, especially those that compose their Fleets or Armies.

We have a most extraordinary Article from *Paris*, in relation to their Prime Minister the Cardinal *de Fleury*. We are told, that when that great Minister was last taken ill, he caused an Inventory to be taken of his Furniture and Effects, all which, 'tis assured, were not valued at more than 16,000 Livres, which is between 7 and 800*l.* Sterling; from whence we may suppose, that his Eminence is far from being governed by a selfish Spirit, which is the best Way of preventing the Growth of such a Spirit among the People under his Care; for with respect to the Spirit or Morals of People, the Example of their Superiors will always have a greater Effect than the best Laws that can be contrived.

In our *Magazine* for December last, we took Notice, that the provisional Possession of the Dutchies of *Bergue* and *Juliers* seemed then to be designed by the Mediators to be given to the Prince of *Sultzbach*, upon the Death of the present Elector *Palatine*; This was, we then said, what the King of *Prussia* would not probably agree to; and accordingly we find his *Prussian* Majesty has absolutely rejected that Proposition; but proposes, what indeed seems to be more just, that these two Dutchies should be possessed by neutral Troops, till the Dispute about the Succession be decided or accommodated. The *Dutch* seem inclined to oblige his *Prussian* Majesty in this Particular; but his most *Christian* Majesty says, that if there be a Necessity to take a previous Possession of these two Dutchies, it would be much more proper, that one of the four mediating Powers should do it, than any one else. This is specious enough, but mark what follows: His most *Christian* Majesty adds, that to remove all Fears on the Part of the King of *Prussia*, it would be necessary, that the Power who is to furnish these Troops, should engage to make no other Use of them, than to maintain the publick Tranquillity, and that of these Territories: And, as the Emperor's Circumstances will not permit him to send Troops into these Dutchies; and as *Great Britain* and *Holland* would not be at the Expence of maintaining Troops there, he offers to put in a Body of his own Troops. The

GRAMMATICAL.

1. **A** New Introduction to the *Italian*. By *J. Kelly*, E^q; Printed for *J. Wilcox*, 8vo, price 5s.

2. A new Method to obtain the Knowledge of the *Hebrew* Tongue. By *A. Burrell*, M. A. Sold by *J. Oswald* and *J. Wilcox*, price 2s. 6d. in Sheets.

3. *Nova Grammatica Græca, facillima & accuratissima*. Auctore *H. Flotio*. Venalis prostat apud *J. Osborn*, pr. 2s. fitch'd.

* 4. A new *Spanish* Grammar. By Capt. *John Stevens*. The 2d Edition. Printed for *T. Meighan*, *T. Cox*, and *J. Wood*, 8vo, pr. 4s. 6d.

MISCELLANEOUS.

5. A Batt'e fought with the Boasters: Or, *Patrocles's* weak Defence, by Force defeated. Sold by the Booksellers in *London*, *Norwich*, &c. 8vo, price 6d.

6. The serious Address to the Lovers of Civil and Religious Liberty. By *Mr. Lacy*. Sold by *A. Dodd*, price 6d.

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